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# KURDISH DIALECT STUDIES-I

BY

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TO MY
KURDISH FRIENDS

# PREFACE

THE study of Kurdish has a longer history than that of most modern Iranian languages. Yet, although it early became clear that the dialects of Kurdish differed considerably from one another, no attempt has previously been made to classify them. These studies are accordingly intended to point both the feasibility and the necessity of some classification. To this end, a descriptive sketch is given of the grammar of a series of dialects from central Kurdistan, some of them treated for the first time here, and an attempt is then made to group the dialects systematically.

My introduction to Kurdish, in 1951, I owe to Mr. C. J. Edmonds and it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to him for his help and encouragement at all times. The award of a most generous Studentship, 1953–5, by the Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures of H.M. Treasury made it possible for me to visit Iraq and to record new linguistic material. In Iraq my work was lightened by the liberal help and interest of so many Kurds, of all stations in life, that to mention all here would be impossible. I must, however, express my special thanks to Messrs. Fuad Reshid Bekr and Hasan Husein of Suleimaniye and Hashim Haji Hasan of Akre for their continued interest and co-operation.

Beside published works, and my own notes, I have occasionally made reference to the manuscript material collected by Oskar Mann. I am particularly grateful to the Directors of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin for so generously placing this material at my disposal.

The basis of this work was approved by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. in 1957. Professor W. B. Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am profoundly grateful to him for his munificent advice, criticism, and help both then and since.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my great debt to the School of Oriental and African Studies for accepting this work for the London Oriental Series and for meeting the cost of publication.

The texts which complement these studies are to be published shortly in the same Series under the title Kurdish Dialect Studies II.

1959 D. N. M.

# ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. xiv. Add: *Šayx Muḥammad Mardūx. Kitāb-i farhang-i Mardūx* [*Sinai* Kd.-NP.-Ar.], 2 vols., [Tehran, 1957].

p. 96, last line. For *afāyatca* read *gafāyatca*.

p. 195, line 28. For *girtn*$^{1}$ read *girtn-*$^{1}$.

p. 225, line 2. Delete *double* line before |Unaspirated stops|.

p. 228, last line. For *hāwurdin* read *hāwirdin*.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ak.• | Akre | (*town* and district of Mosul province). |
| Am.• | Amadiye | (*town* and district of Mosul province). |
| Ar. | Arabic. | |
| Arb.• | Arbil | (town, *district*, and province). |
| Bad. | *Bādīnān* | (Kurdish area of Mosul province, comprising Ak., Am., Dhk., Shn., Zeb., Zx.). |
| Bar.• | *Barvedri-Žōr* | (*sub-district* of Am. district). |
| Bin.• | *Bingird* | (village and *sub-district* of Pil. district). |
| Bot. | Bo(h)tan | (area south of Lake Van, east Turkey). |
| BX.† | Bedir-Xan, | *op. cit.*, *v.* Bibliography, representing normalized Bot. and dialects west thereof. |
| Dhk. | Dohuk | (town and *district* of Mosul province). |
| E. | Edmonds, | MS. notes, representing normalized Sul., q.v. |
| Gul.• | *Gullī* | (tribe and *sub-district* of Zx. district). |
| Hak. | Hakari | (province of south-east Turkey). |
| Hal. | Halebje | (town and *district* of Sul. province). |
| Kd. | Kurdish. | |
| KK. | Kurdoev, | *op. cit.* (ii), *v.* Bibliography, representing normalized Rwn. |
| Muk.† | *Mukrī* | (tribe south of Lake Urmiye, north-west Iran). |
| NP. | New Persian. | |
| P. | *v.* Sul. P. | |
| Pil.• | *Pīždar* | (*sub-district* and district of Sul. province). |
| Rdz.• | Rewandiz | (town and *district* of Arb. province). |
| Rwn. | Erevan | (city, Armenian SSR). |
| Shn. | Sheikhan | (town and *district* of Mosul province, predominantly Yezidi). |
| Sor. | *Sōrān* | (Kurdish area of Arb. province and Pil. district, comprising Bin., Pil., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.). |
| Sul.• | Sulcimaniye | (town, *district*, and province). |
| Sul. P. | | Printed sources which, with Sul. E, may contain conscious neologisms. |
| Sur.• | *Sūrīī* | (*tribe* in Ak. and Rdz. districts). |
| War.• | *Wārmāwa* | (*sub-district* of Hal. district). |
| Xoš.• | *Xōšnāw* | (*tribe* south of Rdz. town). |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Zeb. | *Zēbārī* | (*tribe* in Ak. district). |
| Zx.* | Zakho | (*town* and district of Mosul province). |

* Numbers following these abbreviations indicate the paragraph of the recorded texts, to be published separately (see Preface); a line — indicates 'from MS. notes'.

† Numbers following these abbreviations indicate:

BX — page of Bedir-Xan, *Langue kurde*;

KK — paragraph of Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo jazyka*;

Muk. — page and line of texts, or § paragraph of the *Grammatische Skizze*, in Mann, *Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*.

Ø indicates a morpheme 'zero'.

- indicates a bound morpheme, or an enclitic.

( ) indicates 'optional form'.

/ separates 'alternative forms'.

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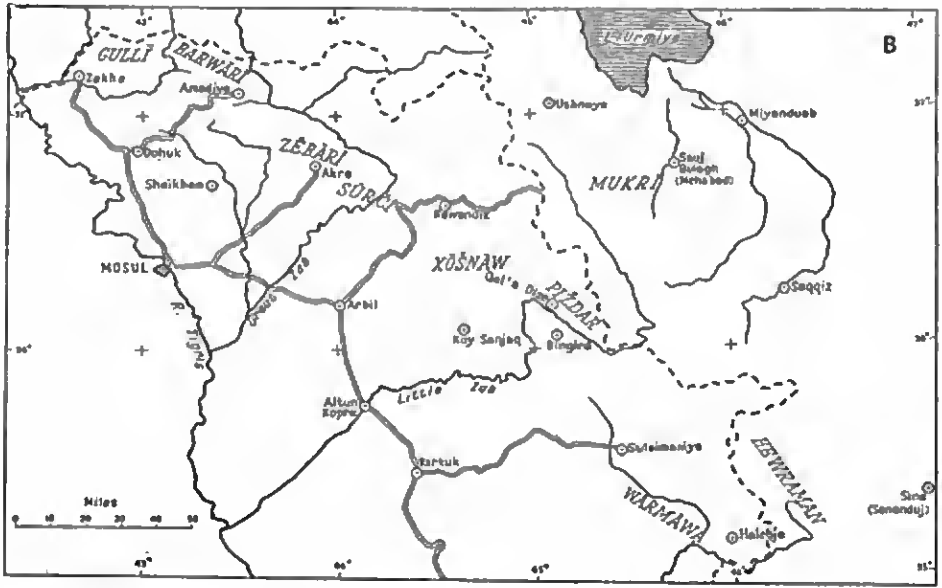
A
B
KURDISTAN
Erevan
Erzurum
Bitlis
Diyarbekir
Mardin
Aleppo
Kirkuk
Sine
Kirmanshah
Sauj Bulagh
Miles


B
GULLĪ
BARWĀRĪ
Zakho
Amadiya
Dohuk
Sheikhan
MOSUL
ZĒBĀRĪ
Akre
SŪRĒ
Rawandiz
XŌŠNAW
Qal'a Dizeh
PIŽDAR
Arbil
Koy Sanjaq
Bingird
Altun Kopru
Kirkuk
Little Zab
Sulaimaniya
WĀRMAWĀ
Halebja
HEWRAMAN
Sina (Sanandaj)
MUKRĪ
Saqqiz
Miyandoab
Ushnaya
Miles

# INTRODUCTION

*Brevis esse laboro . . .*

THE survey of Kurdish dialects which follows is based primarily on material gathered during a visit to Iraqi Kurdistan in 1954–5. Only in the case of the Suleimani dialect has it been possible to supplement this material where necessary with examples from printed sources.

It was originally intended to spend an equal period of time in the Kurdish-speaking areas of Turkey and Iraq. In the event, permission not being forthcoming from the Turkish authorities, some ten months were spent in northern Iraq, between Halebje and Zakho (Map B). From the towns of Suleimaniye and Akre as bases visits were made to the centres of as many dialect areas as could profitably be covered in the time available.

Where possible the linguistic notes made were supported by connected texts, either taken down directly from dictation or recorded on magnetized tape and then transcribed. Inevitably these texts are of unequal value, according both to the nature of their authors and to the possibility of checking them. However, of the texts transcribed without the assistance of the authors those from *Barwārī-žór* are the only ones presented about which any serious doubt remains.

Throughout the history of Kurdish dialect studies it has been notoriously difficult to find trustworthy informants, even *in situ*. Thus Chodzko's informant in Paris was an aristocrat better acquainted with Turkish and Persian than with his mother tongue; Prym and Socin were obliged to obtain most of their Kurdish texts from an Aramaic-speaking Christian and an itinerant Jewish story-teller; Makas's Mardini Kurd, who had travelled for years in Eastern Europe, was telling stories he had heard twenty years before; even in recent years the authors of the Kurdoev–Cukerman texts were refugees who had arrived in the Caucasus by stages from various parts of Turkey.

The same difficulty was encountered in Iraq in certain cases. Thus the author of the main *Bingirdī* text (Bin. 314–79), a man of about twenty-five years of age, had lived for about one year in

*Pižḍar*; the *Xōlnāw* speaker, some forty years old, had worked for a dozen years in cosmopolitan Arbil; the *Sūrčī* speaker, well past his fiftieth year, had lived for the past two years on the outskirts of Akre; the forty-year-old *Gullī* informant had lived for about ten years in Zakho.

A new factor disturbing dialectal purity is the spread of the 'official' Suleimani dialect throughout its home province and neighbouring Arbil. Thus the *Wārmāwa* (War. 188–207), *Bingird* (Bin. 299–313) and Arbil speakers had all either attended school or done their military service, and adopted certain Suleimani forms as a result. In the main, however, the pure dialect forms are clearly discernible in all the texts.

As the majority of the dialects treated here have not been recorded or described hitherto, the material is presented in the form of a descriptive grammatical sketch. On the basis of this description the features distinguishing the different dialects are then summarized. In the description the dialects are divided into two *ad hoc* groups purely for convenience. Not unnaturally, however, this division will be found to coincide in general with the grouping into Northern and Central dialects adopted in the summary. In the two groups the two dialects best represented, viz. Suleimani and Akre, are taken as the basis of the description, the other dialects being described only in so far as they differ from these. Where possible the dialects have been quoted in the following, approximately geographical, order:

| Group I. Suleimani | Group II. (*Sūrčī*) |
|---|---|
| *Wārmāwa* | Akre |
| *Bingird* | Amadiye |
| *Pižḍar* | *Barwārī-žōr* |
| *Mukrī* | *Gullī* |
| Arbil | Zakho |
| Rewandiz | (Sheikhan) |
| *Xōlnāw* | |

Throughout, the words 'the . . . dialect(s) alone', or the like, naturally imply 'alone of those here studied'.

Of previous descriptions of these and neigbbouring dialects the following, which have appeared within the last hundred years, alone merit attention.

For the Suleimani dialect the first sketch is that of Chodzko. It is inaccurate in a number of details, some of them hard to explain (e.g. روی *reni* 'fox', for *rewī*), but suffers most from the deficiencies of the informant. His frequent, but not constant, pronunciation of *r* for *l* might be explained as an aristocratic peculiarity (cf. § 14), or as a non-Suleimani form, hardly as an older dialect form.

Both the grammars of Soane give a highly subjective description of the language. Many forms given are divorced from reality (e.g. the paradigms of intransitive verba in the past tenses, conjugated here as if transitive) and there would be little point in making reference to these details merely to correct them. Even the vocabulary is suspect, in that a great deal of it has been taken uncritically from disparate sources.[1]

Edmonds's description, unfortunately not yet in print, was made available to me by the author as an invaluable introduction to the study of Kurdish. My description of Suleimani, although it may differ in the manner of presentation, is essentially the same as that of Mr. Edmonds. Only where he intentionally errs, from the point of view of dialect purity, in favour of normalization has it been necessary to note the divergence.

The most recent description of a single Kurdish dialect is that of Dr. McCarus. His *Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya* is an interesting exercise in modern linguistic description. It is regrettable, therefore, that the writer soon parts company with fact and never fully regains touch.[2] As an analysis of the dialect its value is thus somewhat impaired.

The grammars written by Kurdish scholars are of another stamp, being primarily prescriptive in character. An early attempt is that of *Sa'īd Ṣidqī*. Although his analysis is somewhat naïve, and leans towards the Arabic grammatical system, the result is an honest and useful description of the Suleimani dialect at a time shortly after its rise to the dignity of an official written language.

*Tawfīq Wahbī*'s first grammar, published in the following year, is more scientific in character. The writer is, however, concerned to purge the language of its non-Kurdish elements and is accordingly prone to theorize. For this reason he must be followed with caution.

The most recent work is that of *Nūrī 'Alī Amīn*. Although more

[1] e.g. the ghost-word *purs* 'pig', cf. Benveniste, *BSL*, XLV. 88.

[2] See my detailed review in *BSOAS*, XXII. 591.

ambitious, and showing an acquaintance with English grammatical terminology, it could be described *mutatis mutandis* in almost the same terms as *Ṣidqī*'s earlier work. A comparison of the two books gives a valuable idea of the neologisms which have been introduced into the dialect in the course of the last thirty years of development.

Mann's grammatical sketch of the *Mukrī* dialect is quoted throughout for the sake of comparison with the neighbouring *Sōrānī* dialects. Any disagreement with Mann's description is specifically noted. Fossum's grammar of the same dialect, with its attachment to the written form, adds nothing to Mann's analysis.

Of the *Bādīnān* dialects Jardine's short grammar gives a quite accurate basic description. Covering as it does, however, some half-dozen dialects it is not a suitable source for our purposes. Beidar's grammar of the Zakho and neighbouring dialects is entertaining but useless. Indeed, without a good knowledge of the dialect it is almost impossible to interpret the texts given in 'transliteration'.

Rhea's sketch of the *Ḥakārī* dialect is accurate but, although this is nowhere stated, it bears unmistakable signs of representing two or more dialects, presumably those of the Gewer and Urmiye areas in the first place.[1]

There remain the more derivative descriptions of Kurdish in Justi's grammar and Socin's sketch in the *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*. Both scholars were severely limited by the information at their disposal. For the dialects covered here only Chodzko's material, discussed above, was available.

Apart from grammatical descriptions there are two sets of texts which can be quoted. The texts from Nehri, southern Hakari, published by M. Nikitine, being in the Persian script, give a good idea of indigenous 'phonemic theory'. At the same time they suffer from the limitations of the script and to some extent require interpretation. They can, therefore, only be quoted here in cases of certainty. It is hoped to publish other material from this source, with a full commentary, at a later date.

The 'Kurdish Songs' of Dr. Mokri are mainly important for the information they provide concerning the lesser-known dialects of southern, Persian, Kurdistan. Nevertheless, the few Suleimani and *Mukrī* songs given provide useful corroborative evidence.

[1] e.g. '*kyutin* or *kutin* or *koftin*, v. fall', '*khin* or *khon* [i.e. **xûn* : *xūn*], n. blood'.

As it was found impossible to visit eastern Turkey no new material could be obtained concerning the Kurdish dialects of that area. While there is quite a large number of published Kurdish texts from the area—those of Dufresne (*Jl. As.*, 1910), Egiazarov (Tiflia, 1891), Hadank, Jaba, Kurdoev-Cukerman, Le Coq, Lerch, Lescot, Makas, Prym-Socin, &c.—they are extremely unequal in a number of particulars and, above all, lack uniformity. To have included a description of them, with the necessary *apparatus criticus*, would have enlarged thia survey disproportionately.

Fortunately valuable evidence relating to these dialects has recently come to light. The material collected by Oskar Mann in the course of his 1906–7 journey from Aleppo to Moaul, via Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Jezire, and Dohuk, has mostly survived the upheavals of the Second World War and is now divided between the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. This material provides a valuable unifying link between these Kurdish texts from Turkey and, moreover, records the dialects as they were before the displacement of Kurdish tribes which followed the First World War. The publication of Mann's material will provide the opportunity to reassesa the texts mentioned above.

Apart from the dialect texts quoted there have recently appeared two indigenous grammars of northern Kurdish, those of Bedir-Xan and Kurdoev. Both are normalized and as such do not provide an ideal source of information for a dialect study. However, they are cited parenthetically in the description of the *Bādīnānī* dialects when they give features common to the Kurdish dialects of Turkey and the Caucasus, but contrasting with *Bādīnānī*.

The studies of Cukerman, Miller, and Sokolova are highly specialized and largely deal with dialects beyond the scope of this survey. The same can be said of Barr's description of Andreas'a southern Kurdish texts. These latter have been expressly excluded from this survey because of the lack of sufficient new evidence. This is now provided, however, by Mann'a manuscript material and will also be the subject of later work.

# PART I

# PHONOLOGY

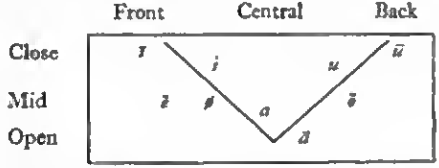
## A. DIALECTS OF GROUP I

### SULEIMANIYE DIALECT (Kd. *Silaymāni*)

### Phonemic System

**§ 1.** The Sul. dialect has the following phonemic system of twenty-nine consonants (including two semi-vowels, and with one important additional allophone)[1] and nine vowels:[2]

| | *Labial* | *Dental, Alveolar* | *Palato-alveolar* | *Velar* | *Uvular* | *Pharyngal* | *Glottal* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop and Affricate | *p* *b* | *t* *d* | *č* *ǰ* | *k* *g* | *q* | | |
| Fricative | *f* *v* | *s* *z* | *š* *ž* | *x* *γ* | | *ḥ* *ʿ* | *h* (')[3] |
| Nasal | *m* | *n* | | *ŋ* | | | |
| Lateral | | *l* *ɫ* | | | | | |
| Vibrant | | *r* *r̄* | | | | | |
| Semi-vowel | *w* | (ə)[1] | *y* | | | | |




[1] See § 37.

[2] Although this dialect has for some years been the vehicle of Kd. publications in Iraq the modified Arabic script now generally used represents not this, but an 'ideal' Sul. dialect with the phonemic system of the Pīš., Muk. dialects (q.v. § 78).

[3] See § 33.

## Consonants

### Labial

§ 2. *p* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive [pʻ].

§ 3. *b* is a voiced, unaspirated, bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it may be devoiced [b̥], e.g.

*čī bikam* [ˈtʃi: b̥kʻam]

§ 4. *f* is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative [f].

§ 5. *v* is a voiced, labio-dental fricative [v]. It is extremely rare, occurring mainly in such sound-imitative words as *giv(v)a* 'whirr' and by assimilation, as in

*ḫavda* [ħavˈva] < **ḫafda* *tāvga* [tɑ̰:vˈga] < **tāfga*

§ 6. *m* is a voiced, bilabial nasal [m].

### Dental and alveolar

§ 7. (*a*) *t* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive [tʻ]. It has two other allophones of restricted occurrence.

(*b*) The 'euphonic' final consonant of the 2nd and 3rd Sg. verbal endings (*v.* § 208 (*c*)) is unaspirated [t]. When in pause, or followed by an initial consonant, the plosive is not released.

(*c*) The *t* of the 2nd Sg. pronominal suffix -(*i*)*t* (*v.* § 197) may be realized as the unaspirated stop [t] or, more commonly, as a continuant [ɔ] (*v.* § 37). In view of this unpredictable alternation the continuant allophone may, where necessary, be written *ṭ*, e.g.

*bitgirim* [ˈbitˌgɾim] ~ *biṭgirim* [ˈbiɐ̯ˌgɾim]
*čīt kird* [ˈtʃi:tˌkʻiɾd] ~ *čīṭ kird* [ˈtʃi:ɔ̯ˌkʻiɾd]

Following *i*, *ū* in final position this *t* is frequently not realized, e.g.

*sēwēki(t) adamē* [ˌsɛ:wɛ:kʻi(t) aˈɐ̯amɛ·]
*mirdū(t) mirē* [mɨɾˈdu: mɾɛ·]

It is assimilated by a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

*nātnāsim* [ˈnɑ̰:nˌnɑ̰:sim] *čīt lē kird* [ˈtʃi:llɛ: ˌkʻiɾd]

§ 8. *d* has two regular allophones.

(*a*) In initial and postconsonantal position it is normally preserved as a voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive [d], e.g.

*dast* [dast'] *dāyk* [dą:ik']
*nōzda* [nǫ:zˈda] '19' *kird* [k'ɪrd]

Note, however,

*bayā* 'Baghdad' *yāŋza* '11', &c.

(*b*) In inter- and postvocalic position it is normally realized as the continuant [ə] (*v.* § 37), e.g.

*āmāda* [ą:mą:ˈə̯a] *nāwdār* [ną:uˈə̯ą:ɾ]
*libād* [liˈbą:ə̯] *bad* [bą:ə̯]

It may, however, be lost entirely, e.g.

*bādam, bāam* [bą:ˈə̯am, bą:ˈam] *mawlū* [mąuˈlu:] Ar. *mawlūd*

(*c*) Following *m, n, l, v, y*, it is assimilated, e.g.

*zāmdār* [zą:mˈmą:ɾ] *birīndār* [bri:nˈną:ɾ]
*dildār* [diłˈłą:ɾ] *ḫavda* [ħavˈva] *maydān* [męjˈją:n]

§ 9. The *d* of the verb *dān* 'to give' is exceptional in that it behaves in almost all positions as medial *d* (*v.* § 8 (*b, c*)).

(*a*) Normally it is realized as the continuant [ə], as a semivowel, e.g.

*dāya* [ˈə̯ą:jɛ̨] *adātē* [aə̯ą:ˈtɛ:]

or as a vowel, e.g.

*hal dirāwa* [ˌhałəˈɾą:wa]

Between two vowels it may, however, be lost, e.g.

*a(d)ātē* [aą:ˈtɛ:] *b(id)arawa* [ˈbarawa] *n(ad)āē* [ˈną:jɛ̨]

(*b*) In proximity to *y*; *ī, ē, ay*, it may be realized as [j],[1] e.g.

*dāya* [ˈją:jɛ̨] *nādayn* [ˈną:jɛ̨jn] *fīrē dayt* [ˈfrɛ:ˈɛ̨jt]

(*c*) It is assimilated by preceding *m, n, l, y*, e.g.

*bimdarē* [ˈbimmaɾɛ·] *amāndātē* [amą:nną:ˈtɛ:]
*tēy hal dan* [ˈt'ɛ̨:j hałˌłan] *aydam* [ɛ̨jˈjɛ̨m]

[1] Cf. the realization of the initial *d* (with, however, medial position) in the following fixed, obscene, phrase: *la quzī dāyki(ı) bim* [la q'vzi: ją:ik'i bim].

Only following *t* is the plosive realization [d] preserved, e.g.

*atdātē* [aʈdaːˈtɛː]

§ 10. (*a*) *s* is normally a voiceless, alveolar fricative [s].

(*b*) In three words only this normal realization alternates with an 'emphatic' alveolar fricative [s], the Ar. ص, viz.

*sad* [sa̯ɔ, sa̯ɔ] '100', cf. NP. spelling صد
*šast* [ʃast', ʃast'] '60', cf. NP. spelling شصت
*sag* [sag, sag] 'dog', cf. Ak. *ṣa* (*v.* § 118).

This need not be considered as more than a phonetic variant.

§ 11. *z* is a voiced, alveolar fricative [z].

§ 12. (*a*) *n* is normally a voiced, dental nasal [n]. In *inǰā* alone it may be vocalic [ˈn̩dʒa̯ː] (*v.* § 41 (*a*) fn.).

(*b*) [n] does not, apparently, occur before a velar plosive, the only nasal in this position being [ŋ], e.g.

[gulin̩ˈk'a, milwa̯ːŋˈk'a, ʃiŋˈga̯ːɾ]

A separate phoneme *ŋ* exists (*v.* § 24) and [ŋk, ŋg] might accordingly be taken simply as phoneme groups **ŋk*, *ŋg*. They are often, however, demonstrably realizations of *n*+*k*, *g*, e.g.

*a-*+*-yān*+*kird* [ɛja̯ːŋˈk'ɪɾd] *bōn ka* [ˈbɒːŋk's]
*bān*+*guš* [ba̯ːŋˈgʊʃ]

and there is no objection to considering them as *nk*, *ng* respectively in all contexts. No ambiguity is caused thereby. The velar nasal [ŋ] *before a homorganic plosive* is, therefore, an allophone of *n*, the examples above representing:

*gulinka, milwānka, Šingār*

The group *ng* is, however, often reduced to [ŋ] *ŋ*, e.g.

**āsingar* > *āsiŋar*

§ 13. *l* is a voiced, dental, lateral non-fricative [l].

§ 14. *l* is a voiced, velarized, dental lateral [l]. It does not occur in initial position.

With some, rare, speakers it appears to be realized as a retroflex lateral [ɭ]. Some women speakers (perhaps affectedly) replace *l* by *r* (cf. § 98).

§ 15. *r* is a voiced, alveolar single flap [ɾ]. It does not occur in initial position. It may be assimilated by a following lateral, e.g.

*har la* [ˈhalla]

§ 16. *ṙ* is a voiced, alveolar roll or trill [r].

### Palatal

§ 17. *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ].

§ 18. *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

§ 19. Apart from the symmetry introduced thereby into the phonemic system (*v.* § 1) the consideration of *č*, *ǰ* as unit phonemes rests on the nature of their relation to other consonant groups. Thus (*v.* § 56):

(i) Other possible affricate groups, such as *pf*, *kx*, do not occur at all. *kš*, *pš*, *bž*, and *št* occur in initial position only as a result of secondary contact.

(ii) No groups of three consonants occur in initial position except [tʃkʻ, tʃq, tʃl, tʃw, dʒg, dʒw, dʒj]. In medial position no three-consonant groups beginning with a stop occur beside [tʃkʻ, tʃq, tʃm, tʃr, dʒg]. In final position no three-consonant groups occur apart from [ndʒ, ntʃ, rdʒ].

In each case the interpretation of [tʃ, dʒ] as *č*, *ǰ* respectively obviates the exception.

§ 20. *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 21. *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

### Velar

§ 22. *k* is normally a voiceless, aspirated, velar plosive [kʻ].

§ 23. *g* is a voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive [g].

§ 24. (*a*) *ŋ* is a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ]. It never occurs in initial position.

(*b*) In *qiŋ* alone is it vocalic [qŋ̩]. In certain numerals only, in the context *dŋx* (*v.* § 193), the tongue dorsum does not touch the velum, the result being a nasalized frictionless continuant [ŋ̃] (and not a simple nasalization of the preceding vowel), e.g.

*yāŋxa* [jaːŋ̃ˈxa]

(*c*) When [ŋ] is followed, as occasionally happens in medial position, by a velar plosive it may be considered as an allophone of *n* (*v.* § 12 (*b*)), e.g.

[bg̊:ŋ] *bāŋ*, but [bg̊:ŋ'gu̯ʃ] *bāngu̯š*

§ 25. *k*, *g*, and *y* are all strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel *y*, thus:

*kē* [c'e:] *gox* [ɟœɣz] *ʀaŋē* [ˈraŋʲɛ·] (not [ˈraŋɛ·])

In the case of *k*, *g* this leads, but very rarely, to a vulgar pronunciation of *k(y)*, *g(y)* as affricates approaching [tʃ, dʒ].

§ 26. *x* is a voiceless, velar fricative [x].

§ 27. *ɣ* is the corresponding voiced, velar fricative [ɣ]. It occurs comparatively rarely.

### Post-velar

§ 28. *q* is a voiceless, uvular plosive [q]. It is not normally aspirated except before *u*.

§ 29. *ḥ* is a voiceless, pharyngal fricative [ħ].

§ 30. ' is a voiced, pharyngal fricative [ʕ], less tense than the corresponding Ar. ع.

§ 31. Both *ḥ* and ' appear in Kd. words in place of etymological *h* and [ʔ] (*v.* § 33). The incidence of *ḥ* is regular, e.g.

*ḥawt* 'seven' *ḥīz* 'lecher'

but ' alternates almost freely with [ʔ], especially in initial position, e.g.

*āsmān* ~ *'āsmān* 'heaven' *am(m)ār* ~ *'amār* 'granary'

and in words of Ar. origin,

*amr* ~ *'amr* 'order; age' *qur'ān* ~ *qur'ān* 'Coran'

§ 32. *h* is a voiceless, glottal fricative, a full aspirate [h].

§ 33. (*a*) [ʔ], the glottal stop, occurs only in initial position before vowels, under the following conditions:

(i) Following a pause, or a final vowel, an initial vowel other than *ē* (*v.* § 43) is normally preceded by [ʔ]. The modal prefix

*a-* (*v.* § 206 (*a*)), however, is generally only so preceded after a pause. Thus:

*bō avo* [bo: ˈʔaʊ], but *bō aykay* [ˈbo: ɐjkˈɐj]

(ii) Following a final consonant, the conjunction *ū* 'and', the Izafe *ī* (*v.* § 183), and the prepositions *barav*, *la*, an initial vowel is generally not preceded by [ʔ]. The appearance of the glottal stop in these contexts indicates 'careful' or 'emphatic' speech.

The glottal stop does not occur intervocalically, even at a morpheme juncture, thus:

*ahāt* [ʔaˈhɑ:tˤ], but *naahāt* [ˈnaaˌhɑ:tˤ][1]

(*b*) The glottal stop is thus not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and cannot be considered as a consonant phoneme of Kurdish. It does occur, however, in a few unassimilated loan-words from Arabic, and is then written as ', e.g.

*su'āl* 'question', beside *suāl* 'begging'

## Semi-vowels

§ 34. *w* is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. When it is followed by a front vowel there is a slight fronting of the tongue, giving [ẅ > ɥ].

§ 35. (*a*) *y* is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

(*b*) Between vowels the realization of *y* is sometimes almost imperceptible, e.g. *-āya-* [-ɑ:ʲɛ-], particularly in the contexts *ī*, *ē*, *ø–y–a*, *ā*, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *kursīyak* [kˈʊɾˈsi:ɛkˤ] | *dīyān* [ˈdi:ɑ:n] (*v.* § 60) |
| *dēyak* [ˈde:akˤ] | *lēyān* [ˈlɛ:ɑ:n] |
| *gøyak* [ˈgœɛakˤ] | *gøyān* [gœɛˈɑ:n] |

§ 36. Many speakers regularly substitute the group *wē* for *yō* in initial or medial position, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *yōnān* > *wēnān* 'Greece' | *bālyōz* > *bālwēz* 'ambassador' |
| *milyōn* > *milwēn* 'million' | *qarawēla* < Tk. *karyola* 'bed' |
| *tanturwēt* < Fr. '(d')iode' | |

[1] The Sul. Kd. orthography has *ʾ* before all vowels in initial position, and even medially, thus ئاش, ئەهات, ئەئەهات, rather than ئاش, اهات, ئەاهات. This seems to be an unnecessarily misleading adaptation of the Ar. script.

The group *wē*, *of other origin*, may alternate with *ø* in certain contexts (*v* § 44 (*b*)).

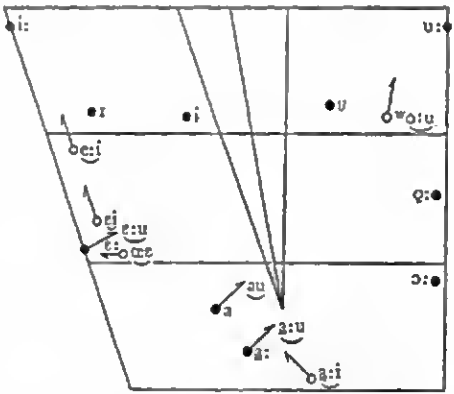
§ 37. [ɔ], an allophone of *t* and *d* (*v.* §§ 7, 8), is a half-close, central continuant, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop.

## Vowels

§ 38. (*a*) Of the nine vowel phonemes three, *a*, *i*, *u*, are 'short'. *i* (*v.* § 41 (*c*)) is particularly unstable.

(*b*) The phoneme *ø* is exceptional, being realized as a diphthong (*v.* § 44). The remaining 'long' vowels, *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, are normally stable, but may be shortened in final, unstressed position. Only in the case of *ā* is there any possibility of confusion with another phoneme, viz. *a*.

§ 39.




§ 40. *i* is a very close, front vowel [i:], or shorter [i·] in final, unstressed position. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be reduced to [j], e.g.

*xistīa bāxalī* [ˌxist'jɛ̨ ba̱:ˈxali·]

§ 41. *i* has two normal allophones, and may also alternate with zero.

(*a*) In initial position in a word[1] or syllable, or in contact with the semi-vowel *y*, it is a half-close, front vowel [ɪ] (*v.* § 60), e.g.

*išt* [ɪʃt'] *āsāišt* [ɑ:sɑ:ˈɪʃt']

(*b*) In medial[2] or final position in the syllable it is a half-close, front-central [ɨ], varying somewhat in position according to the following consonant, e.g.

*pišt* [p'ɨʃt'] *nāwi* [ˈnɑ:wɨ]

(*c*) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* is generally not realized, provided that no impermissible consonant group is thereby caused (*v.* § 56). Thus, compare

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *bikam* [ˈbik'am] | : | *čī bikam* [ˈtʃi: ḅk'am] |
| *birdin* [biɾˈdin] | : | *birdinawa* [ˌbiɾdnaˈwa] |
| *dasim* [ˈdasim] | : | *dasima* [ˈdasma] |
| *dīwim* [ˈdi:wim] | : | *dīwimī* [ˈdi:ɯmi·] |
| *nārdi(t)* [ˈnɑ:ɾdi(t)] | : | *nārditī* [ˈnɑ:ɾdti·] |

§ 42. The instability of the phoneme *i* raises an important problem of orthography. A large number of words appear to have initial groups of two consonants (*v.* § 56 (*a*)). When these words are subject to a change of stress, however, they are frequently seen to contain a phoneme *i*, not normally realized, e.g.

*birā* [bɾɑ:], but [ˈbiɾɑ·] 'O brother!' (*v.* § 181 (*a*))
*šitin* [ʃt'in] 'to wash', but *dasī(t) šit* [ˌdasi ˈʃit'] 'have you washed your hands?';
from *bīrīn* [bɾi:n] 'to cut', *aybīrim* [ɑjbˈɾim] 'I cut it', but *qalambīr* [qalamˈbiɾ] 'penknife' (*v.* § 253 (*a*) (ii)).

To most sophisticated Kurds the theoretically polysyllabic nature of such words as **dirēž*, *kirān*, *pilāw*, *sipī*, &c., is evident, despite the regular realization as [dɾe:ʒ, kɾɑ:n, pɬɑ̯:u, sp'i:], &c.[3] This

[1] The sole recorded exception is the word *inja* [ˈindʒa·], more commonly [ˈɪndʒa·].
[2] The only exception recorded is the word *šinj* [ʃɪndʒ].
[3] An application of this is to be found in the prosodic value of such

analysis has, accordingly, been accepted in this work wherever appropriate.

§ 43. *ē* is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ:] (or shorter [ɛ·] in final unstressed position) except in the diphthong [ɛ̯:i], where it approaches a half-close [e:]. In initial or postvocalic position it is preceded by a fleeting anticipatory raising of the tongue, giving [ˈɛ:], e.g.

*ēm* [ˈɛ:m] *aēšā* [aˈɛ:ˈʃa̯:]

The same occurs following *p*, e.g. *pē* [pˈɛ:], while a preceding velar stop or nasal is palatalized (*v.* § 25).

§ 44. (*a*) *ø* is a diphthong [œɛ], i.e. formed by the progressive unrounding of the lips while the tongue remains in the half-open, front position. Sometimes it is a falling [ˈœɛ̯], sometimes a rising [œ̯ˈɛ] diphthong. Usually a speaker will realize the diphthong in one way only, but occasionally both forms may be heard from the one person.

(*b*) [œɛ] is here considered as a single vowel phoneme, since [œ] never occurs independently of [ɛ] and the diphthong always appears in a single syllable. In Kd. orthography the vowel is, inevitably, generally written وێ, and has at times been transliterated as *wē*. *ø*, unlike *wē*, never appears in initial position, while both may appear in medial position (*v.* § 36), e.g.

*wērān, bālwēz, bilør*

Final *ø* is distinguished from *ē* by the suffixes *-aka*, *-awa* (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), e.g.

*dē+-aká > dēká* *gø+-aká > gøyaká*
*dønē+-awa > dønēwa* *kø+-awa > køyawa*

---

words. In both metrical and syllabic verse the *i*-syllable seems more often to be counted present than absent. For example:

– ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ –,
*Zōr kaṙat hānim adā dāxī darūnī piṙ-giṙim,*
*bōtī hal ṙēžim sikālāy nāsikī garm ū guṙim;*
*dāxaham, hātē ha ēma bardamit wāqī wuṙim*
*wām aśēwēnē ba jōrē nāyalē hīč dor biṙim.*

*Hardī.*

Decasyllabic,

*La žēr mēxarā malāy nūstāwa* *ṙīlī bū sar siŋ parī ū bilāwa*
*qiyāfat paṙpūt wah hitēbī kōn* *zimānī šīrīn, simāy naxtē mōn*

*Gōrān.*

Corresponding to *-(i)wē-* [ɥɛ:] the realization [œɛ] is normally heard in Sul., e.g.

*n(i)wĕž* [nɥɛ:ʒ] > *nœ̆ž* [nœ̯ɛʒ]

cf. *ǰinēw* [dʒinɛ̯:u̯] > **ǰiwēn* > *ǰœn* [dʒœ̯ɛn]

The converse is not, however, true. Thus

*gœz* [ɟœ̯ɛz] nowhere appears as [ɟɥɛ:z] **g(i)wĕz*

*œ* has, therefore, an identity distinct from *wē*.

§ 45. *a* has two allophones. Normally it is an open, front-central vowel [a]. In contact with *ī* or *y* it is a half-open, front vowel [ɛ], more close preceding[1] and more open following *ī*, *y*, e.g.

*yak* [jɛk'] *gaīn* [gɛ̯ˈi:n]

§ 46. (*a*) *ā* is an open, front-central vowel [a̯:], slightly more open and back than the corresponding short *a*. Preceding *l*, *y*, it is even more open and back. In final, unstressed position, as [a̯], it may be confused with *a*.

(*b*) *ā* has the effect of appreciably deaspirating a preceding voiceless stop, *p*, *t*, or *k*, e.g.

[p'ɛ:ʃ] : [pa̯:ʃ]

§ 47. (*a*) *ō* is normally a medium, back vowel [o̯:] (or [o̯·] in final unstressed position) with two other allophones.

(*b*) It appears before *r*, *r̄*, as a half-open, back vowel [ɔ:].

(*c*) Followed in the same syllable by *w* it is closer, and preceded by a fleeting anticipatory lip-rounding, giving [ᵛo̯:u̯], e.g.
*tōw* [t'ᵛo̯:u̯]

§ 48. *u* is invariably a half-close, back-central vowel [ʊ].

§ 49. *ū* is a close, back vowel [u:]. In unstressed position preceding another vowel it may be realized as [w], e.g.

*kirdim* ū *aykamawa* [ˌk'irdimwɛ̯jk'amaˈwa]

[1] The realization [ɛ̯] is somewhat more close even than the normal realization of *ē*, but in the same context *ē* is much closer [ɛ̯:(j)] (v. § 43).

## Dipbthongs

**§ 50.** There are three classes of diphthongs in the Sul. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel [ɛ̯i, œ̯i, e̯i, a̯i, o̯i, u̯i]
(ii) a close, back vowel [i̯u, ɛ̯u, œ̯u, e̯u, a̯u, o̯u]
(iii) a half-close, central [ə], [i̯ɘ, i̯ə, ɛ̯ə, æ̯ə, a̯ə, ɑ̯ə, u̯ə]

**§ 51.** Class (i). When these diphthongs are followed by another vowel their syllabic character is destroyed, e.g.

[ˌla̯i ˈmio], but [ˈla̯ːiˈk']

Thus they cannot be regarded as single phonemes.

[e̯i, a̯i], &c., are to be clearly distinguished from [ɛˈi:, aˈi:], &c., e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| [me̯i] 'wine' | [mɛˈi:] 'it congealed' |
| [ma̯ːin] 'we stayed' | [maˈi:n] 'mare' |

Thus the second element of the diphthong cannot conveniently be regarded as a realization of *i*. It must rather be considered as repreaenting the semi-vowel *y*. Class (i) is then reducible to the groups *ey* (*v.* § 43), *ay*, *ay* (*v.* § 45), *ay* (*v.* § 46), *oy*, and *uy*.

**§ 52.** Class (ii). As with class (i) a following vowel destroys the syllabic character of these diphthongs, e.g.

[a̯ːu], but [ˈa̯ːwɛːkˈ]

On the analogy of class (i) it ia convenient to consider these diphthongs as phoneme groups with *w* as the second member, thus *iw*, *ew*, *ow*, *aw*, *aw*, and *ow* (*v.* § 47 (*c*)).

**§ 53.** [ə] occurring only as an allophone of *t* or *d* (*v.* §§ 7, 8) the diphthongs of class (iii) represent *it*, *it*, *et*, *at* or *ad*, *at* or *ad*, *ot*, and *ut*.

## Distribution of Phonemes

### Consonants

**§ 54.** (*a*) The following oppositions show that all consonanta, except *l*, *y*, *r*, *v*, appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word.

All consonants occur individually in medial and final position, with the exception of ', though stops, particularly voiced stops, are far less common than continuants in final, postvocalic position.

*p : b : f : v : m : w*

*pĕ* 'foot' : *bĕ* 'without', *bā* 'wind' : *fĕ* 'paroxysm, fit' : *mĕ* 'ewe', *mā* 'remained' : *wā* 'thus'. *pildw* 'pilaff' : *bildw* 'spread' : *fildn* 'such-and-such' : *wildt* 'country'.

*hapá* 'peg' : *'abá* 'Abdullah' : *xafát* 'grief' : *giv(v)á* 'whirring' : *ama* 'this' : *awa* 'that'. *hapr* 'bower' : *xabr* 'power' : *bafr* 'snow' : *amr* 'life; order' : *hawr* 'cloud'.

*qāp* 'plate' : *fwāb* 'answer' : *qāf* 'Q, "call-up" ' : *wām* 'debt' : *āw* 'water'. *kīf* 'bag' : *gīv* 'crouching position'. *qap* 'bite' : *kaf* 'palm of the hand' : *čam* 'stream' : *haw* 'partridge'.

*t : d : s : z : n*

*tāw* 'power' : *dāw* 'snare' : *zāw* 'having borne, milch' : *nāw* 'name'. *dēw* 'demon', *dīw* 'side' : *sēw* 'apple' : *zīw* 'silver' : *nīw* 'half'. *tirē* 'grapes' : *dirēž* 'long' : *sirēš* 'glue' : *zirē* 'chain armour, zip-fastener' : *dā nirē* 'be put down'.

*pōtaldk* 'crest' : *hōdá* 'room' : *kōsá* 'beardless; swindler' : *gōzá* 'pitcher' : *sōná* 'duck'. *fātú* 'student's pension' : *jādá* 'magic' : *parāsú* 'ribs' : *tarāzú* 'balance' : *fwānú* 'foal'.

*lat* 'fragment' : *bad* 'bad' : *bas* 'enough' : *baz* 'suet' : *tan* 'body'. *part* 'scattered' : *bard* 'stone' : *tars* 'dung' : *barz* 'high' : *qarn* 'century'.

*s : z : š : ž*

*sĕ* '3' : *zĕ* 'river, Zab' : *šĕ* 'dampness' : *žĕ* 'bowstring'. *sīn* 'S' : *zīn* 'saddle' : *šīn* 'blue; lament' : *žīn* 'life'. *syāyzá* '13' : *šāyzá* '16' : *šyāšká* 'dung'. *zyān* 'loss' : *žān* 'pain' : *žyān* 'to live'.

*hasár* 'wall' : *hazár* '1,000' : *hašár* 'camouflaged hide' : *hažár* 'wretched'. *tāsá* 'pang' : *tāzá* 'fresh' : *lāšá* 'corpse', *wāšá* 'hawk' : *wāžá* 'buzzing'.

*tirs* 'fear' : *dirz* 'split' : *tirš* 'sour' : *girž* 'sullen'.

*š : ž : č : j (: y)*

*šān* 'shoulder' : *žān* 'pain', *žīn* 'life' : *čīn* 'fold' : *čān* 'they went' : *jān* 'to chew' : *yān* 'or'. *štwān* 'shepherd' : *žwān* 'tryst' : *čtwār* '4' : *jwān* 'beautiful'.

*pāšú* 'hind', *pēšú* 'former' : *qāžú* 'jackdaw' : *bēčú* 'young of animal' : *bājī* 'elder sister'. *xānčī* 'innkeeper' : *tānjī* 'greyhound'. *čašn* 'sort' : *jažn* 'celebration'.

*gaš* 'shining' : *gač* 'lime' : *xaǰ* 'Khadije'. *bāš* 'good', *bōš* 'empty' : *rōž* 'day; sun' : *pāč* 'pickaxe' : *bāǰ* 'tax'. *farš* 'carpet' : *wurč* 'bear' : *marǰ* 'bet'.

*č* : *ǰ* : *ḵ* : *g* : *q*

*čō* 'go!' : *ǰō* 'barley' : *kō* 'mass', *kōč* 'march' : *gō* 'ball' : *qōč* 'horn'. *ǰīr* 'elastic, tough' : *gīr* 'tenacious' : *qīr* 'pitch'. *čwār* '4' : *ǰwān* 'beautiful' : *kwē* 'where is ?' : *gwān* 'udder'. *ǰyā* 'separate' : *gyān* 'soul'.

*qōčaqānī* 'sling' : *kilōǰá* 'manner' : *lōkā* 'cotton' : *kōgá* 'store' : *lóqá* 'trot'.

*pāč* 'pickaxe' : *bāǰ* 'tax' : *ṗāk* 'clean' : *lāq* 'leg'. *parč* 'curve' : *marǰ* 'bet' : *ark* 'work' : *farg* 'liver' : *farq* 'difference'.

*ḵ* : *g* : *x* : *γ* : *ŋ*

*kā* 'straw', *kō* 'mass' : *gā* 'ox', *gō* 'ball' : *xō* 'self' : *γār* 'gallop'. *kaī* 'deaf', *kaw* 'partridge' : *gaī* 'mangy' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *kwē* 'where is ?' : *gwārā* 'earring' : *xwā* 'God'.

*akā* 'does' : *agā* 'reaches' : *axā* 'throws'. *bĕkār* 'bachelor' : *bĕgār* 'corvée' : *xūxāw* 'pus' : *liγāw* 'bridle' : *haŋāw* 'pace'.

*bāk* 'fear' : *bāx* 'garden' : *sāγ* 'well' : *bāŋ* 'call'. *tūk* 'hair' : *dūg* 'sheep's fat tail' : *dūx* 'spindle'.

*x* : *γ* : *ḥ* : ʾ : *h*

*xāl* 'mole' : *γār* 'gallop' : *ḥāl* 'condition'. *xafát* 'grief' : *ḥapá* 'barking' : *ʾabá* 'Abdullah' : *hapá* 'peg'.

*axām* 'I throw' : *laγām* 'tunnel' : *ʿaḥatī* 'funnel' : *bahāšt* 'heaven'.

*šōx* 'pretty' : *rōḥ* 'spirit', *lawḥ* 'tablet' : *naw* 'sort'. *nirx* 'price' : *bīlḥ* 'lazy'.

*m* : *n* : *ŋ* (but see §§ 12 (*b*), 24 (*c*))

*māl* 'house' : *nāl* 'horseshoe'. *málē* 'do not say!' : *nálē* 'he should not say'.

*māmá* 'the uncle' : *mānā* 'meaning' : *māŋá* 'cow'. *dāmá* 'draughts' : *dānā* 'grain'.

*tam* 'mist' : *tan* 'body' : *taŋ* 'tight'. *mām* 'uncle' : *mān* 'resentment' : *māŋ* 'moon'.

*l* : *ɫ* : *r* : *ř*

*lē* 'from it' : *rē* 'road'. *lūt* 'nose' : *rūt* 'naked'.

*palá* 'haste' : *paɫá* 'stain' : *parā* 'increase' : *pařā* 'page'. *kōlān* 'street' : *gōrān* 'peasant' : *gōřān* 'to change'.

*gil* 'pain' : *gil* 'clay', *dil* 'heart' : *dił* 'fierce'. *kal* 'chipped' : *kal* 'ox' : *kaɾ* 'donkey' : *kaɾ* 'deaf'.

(*b*) There is some occasional alternation of similar consonants, e.g.

*s* : *z*. *zig* ~ *zik* ~ *sik* 'stomach' (*v.* § 172 (*d*)). *ziɾ* ~ *siɾ* 'tick'. *wariz* ~ *waris* 'angry'.

*k* : *q*. *kin* ~ *qin* 'hate'. *lik* ~ *liq* 'branch'. *ɾik* ~ *ɾiq* 'anger'.

*x* : *γ*. *xam* ~ *γam* 'sorrow'. *čəxá* ~ *čəγá* 'homespun jacket'. *čix* ~ *čiγ* 'reed screen'.

' : '. (')*amr* 'life; order'. (')*ámán* 'heaven'. (')*amár* 'granary' (*v.* § 31).

*n* : *ŋ*. *mindl* ~ *miŋdl* 'child'. *ban* ~ *baŋ* 'tied' (*v.* § 57 (*a*)).

### Vowels

§ 55. (*a*) *ə* alone of the vowel phonemes does not appear in initial position (*v.* § 44 (*b*)). *i* and *u* are rare in this position and appear in final position in only one instance (*v.* § 197 (*a*), note 2). Otherwise the vowels preserve their identity in most positions, as the following oppositions indicate:

*ī* : *ɛ̄* : *ə* : *ā* : *ō* : *ū*

*īɾ* 'work' : *ɛ̄ɾ* 'pain' : *āɾ* 'mill' : *ūč* 'nib'. *čstā* 'now' : *ōstā* 'master'.

*pīr* 'old', *ɛ̄ir* 'clever' : *ɛ̄ɾ* 'under' : *zər* 'sad' : *pār* 'last year', *zār* 'a die' : *zōr* 'much, very' : *pūr* 'aunt', *sūr* 'rough'.

*bī* 'willow' : *bɛ̄* 'without', *kɛ̄* 'who?' : *kə* 'where?' : *bā* 'wind', *kā* 'straw' : *bō* 'for', *kō* 'mass' : *bū* 'was'.

*i* : *a* : *u*

*piɾ* 'full' : *paɾ* 'feather', *kaɾ* 'deaf' : *kuɾ* 'boy'. *kird* 'did' : *kart* 'piece' : *kurd* 'Kurd', *kurt* 'short' (*v.* (*b*) below).

*Long vowel* : *short* (*ī* : *i*, &c.)

*pīr* 'old' : *piɾ* 'full'. *dīl* 'prisoner' : *dil* 'heart'. *nâwi* 'his name' : *nâwi* 'thy name'.

*kērd* 'knife' : *kird* 'did'.

*āw* 'water' : *aw* 'he'. *bāɾ* 'good' : *baɾ* 'portion'. *malā* 'mullah' : *malá* 'swimming'.[1]

*qōz* 'dandy' : *quz* 'vulva'.

*dūr* 'far' : *duɾ* 'pearl'. *kūɾ* 'declivity' : *kuɾ* 'boy'.

[1] A few words have alternative forms, ending in stressed *á* or *a*, e.g. *ástá* = *ástá* 'now', *rêgá* = *rêgá* 'road'.

*Long vowel : diphthong* (*ē : ay, ō : aw*)
*tēr* 'satiated' : *tayr* 'bird'. *mē* 'ewe' : *may* 'wine'.
*hōr* 'sack' : *hawr* 'cloud'. *kō* 'mass' : *kaw* 'partridge'.

(*b*) The distinction between *i* : *u* is neutralized in contact with *w*, or in proximity to a back vowel, e.g.

*wirč* = *wurč* 'bear', *āwiŋ* = *āwúŋ* 'dew', *birō* = [ˈburo·] 'gol', *biwērē* = **buwērē* [ˈbu:ɛ:rɛ·] (*v.* § 60)

That between *ī* : *i* is to some extent lost in initial position, e.g.

*isrāḫat* [isɾa̱:ˈħat'] = *īsrāḫat* [i:sɾa̱:ˈħat'] 'rest'

Regarding the distinction between *i* : *ī*, *u* : *ū* see also § 60.

## Consonant groups

§ 56. (*a*) Initial groups of two consonants are common in Sul., some eighty being recorded. Those having *w* or *y* as the second element are stable, e.g.

*čwār*, *gyān*, *ǰyā*, *pwāz*, *pyāw*, *šwān*, *xwā*

The remainder are mostly to be considered as the result of secondary contact, caused by the non-realization of an unstressed *i* (*v.* § 42). They fall into two groups, viz. those having *l*, *l*, *r*, or *r̄* as the second element, e.g.

*gilān* [*gla̱*:n] *pilāw* [*pla̱*:u] *girān* [*gra̱*:n] *fir̄ē* [*frɛ*:]

and those with an initial sibilant or affricate, e.g.

*čilāw* [*tʃla̱*:u] *simēl* [*smɛ*:l] *šitin* [*ʃt'*in] *zimān* [*zma̱*:n]

Possible exceptions in this class are the groups *st-*, *šk-*, which seem more stable.

No group of three or more consonants is permissible in initial position (cf. § 19).

(*b*) In medial position practically any two-consonant group containing a continuant or affricate (*v.* § 19) is tolerated. The only groups of two plosives recorded are *bd*, *gb*, *kt*, *pk*, *pq*, *tk*, *tq*. The only primary geminate groups in Kd. words are *ll*, *ll*, *mm*, *nn*, and rarely *vv*.

Groups of three consonants are rare, even in secondary contact. They are all of the pattern *l*, *r*, *s* + C + C, where rarely more than one of the consonants C is a plosive.

(*c*) Groups of no more than two consonants may occur in final position. Some forty are recorded, the commonest being

*l*+*ḫ*, *k*, *m*, *q*; *l*+*b*, *f*, *k*, *m*, *p*; *nf*; *r*+*č*, *d*, *g*, *ǰ*, *k*, *m*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *x*, *z*, *ž*; *r̄*+*k*, *t*; *s*+*k*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *t*; *š*+*k*, *m*, *n*, *t*; *xt*; *zm*; *ž*+*d*, *m*, *n*.

Some speakers, however, appear to be less able than others to realize even these groups in final position. Thus both [ʔasp'] and [ˈʔasˈp'] *asp* are heard. This mainly affects loanwords from Ar., ending in a consonant group tolerated in medial but not generally in final position. In the latter case an *unstressed*, *non-phonemic* [i] is realized between the consonants of the group, e.g.

*xalq* [ˈxalˈq]
*xalq bāŋī akā* [ˌxalˈq ˈba̱:ŋˈɛ:ka̱·], but
*xalqī kəy* [ˌxalqi·ˈk'œɛj]

This vowel is not expressed as a phoneme, in contrast to a phonemic *i*, realized in final but not necessarily in unstressed medial position (*v.* § 41 (*c*)), e.g.

*ba āsik* [ba ʔa̱:ˈsik'] *am āsikāna* [ʔam ˌa̱:ska̱:ˈna]
*hamū šit* [haˈmu:ˌʃit'] *hamū šitēk* [haˈmu:ʃt'ɛ:k']

§ 57. (*a*) The group *nd*, formed by morpheme juncture, is normally realized as [nn] (*v.* § 8 (*c*)). Otherwise the normal correspondence to the group *nd* of other dialects is Sul. *n* or *ŋ*, less frequently *nn*, e.g.

*ban*, *baŋ* : *band*, *diřiŋa* : *diřinda*, *faŋ* : *fand*
*māŋū* : *māndū*, *mināl*, *miŋāl* : *mindāl*, *škānin* : *škāndin*,

but *bannaxən* : *bandaxən*.

(*b*) The group *st* is normally stable in Sul.,[1] e.g.

*bist*, *bista*, *dōst*, *dāristān*, &c.

and may even be introduced by analogy, e.g.

*qastam* < Ar. *qasam* 'oath', *maqast* < Ar. *miqaṣṣ* 'scissors'

Certain words, however, with the group *st* in final position, have alternative forms in *s*, e.g.

*bīs*(*t*), *das*(*t*), *kōs*(*t*), &c.

[1] But note the reduction of the heavy secondary group in *hal stān* > *hal sān* or *hastān*.

The group normally loses the *t* when it is followed by another consonant and if this be voiced then the *s* is also voiced,[1] e.g.

*das(t) nākawē* [daz ˈnaː:kʻawɛ·]

cf. *dasgā* [dazˈgaː:] *dasgīrān* [dazgiːˈraː:n]

In one case the vowel is lengthened in compensation, viz.

*dirust* (*kird*, &c) [druːs (ˈkʻird)]

## Vowel groups

§ 58. A feature of the Sul. dialect is the frequency of uninterrupted vowel groups, usually of a secondary nature, e.g.

*āsāiš* [aː:saː:ˈɪʃ] (*v.* § 41 (*a*)) *min* ū aw [minu·ˈaʊ] (*v.* § 33 (*a*))
*wā akay* [ˈwaː:akʻɛj] *law daštaā* [laʊ daʃˈtʻaa·]

With the presence of a semi-vowel longer groups of frictionless continuants may arise, e.g.

*lēy adā* [ˈlɛːjaˌaaː, ˈlɛːjaˌaː]
*nērīnaṭ adātē* [nɛːriːnˌaə aaaːˈtɛː]

Such groups may, however, be contracted, e.g.

*ba nāw am šāraā* > . . . *am šārā*

§ 59. (*a*) In unstressed position the distinction between [jɛ] *-ya-*, *-īa-* and [ˈɛː] *-ē-* appears to be lost. The former is generally perceived as the latter, e.g.

*kursīaká* [kʻursjɛˈkʻa] > *kursēká* [kʻursɛːˈkʻa]
*ažnṓyawa* [aʒˈnọːjɛwa] > *ažnṓēwa* [aʒˈnọːɛːwa]
*intīzārī akan* [ɪntʻiːˈzaːrɛːkʻan]

Note, *yawāš* [jɛˈwaː:ʃ] > *hēwāš* [hɛːˈwaː:ʃ].
But following *ā* the reverse is the case, e.g.

*nāēm* [ˈnaːˈɛːm] > *nāyam* [ˈnaː:jɛm]
*nadāē* [ˈnaaaːˈɛ·] > *n(ad)āya* [ˈnaː:jɛ]

(*b*) The distinction between [wa] *-wa-*, [uːa] *-ūa-*, *-uwa-*, and [ọː] *-ō-* is frequently lost, even in stressed position. They are generally perceived as *-ō-*, e.g.

*ōrdūaká* [ɔːrdwaˈkʻa] > *ōrdōká* [ɔːrdọːˈkʻa]
*hātúwata* . . . [haːˌtʻuːata] > *hātṓta* . . . [haːˌtʻọːta]

[1] Note the phrase, *rāst akay* [ˈraː:zakʻci] 'You are right'.

Note, Ar. *muwaffáq* > *mōfáq*.
Conversely,

*xōyān* [ˈxǫ:jɑ:n] > *xwayān* [ˈxwɛjɑ:n]

Note, *ōstā* ~ *wastā* 'master craftsman'.

§ 60. When a close vowel is followed by a related semi-vowel any distinction of length is lost in the realization. Thus *-iy-*, *-iy-*, (*-iyy-*) are realized as [i:], e.g.

*biygira* [ˈbi:gɾa] *biyāngira* [ˈbi:ɑ:ŋgˈiɾa]
*člyt* [tʃi:t] *dlyān* [ˈdi:ɑ:n]
*pirsīy* [pˈiɾˈsi:] *kursīyak* [kˈʊɾˈsi:ɕkˈ]
Ar. *niyyat* > *nīyat* (*nīat*) [ni:ˈɕtˈ]

Similarly [u:] may represent, beside *ū*, the groups *-uw-* and *-ūw-* (*-uww-*), e.g.

*biwērē* > **buwērē* [ˈbu:ɛ:ɾɛ·] (*v.* § 55 (*b*))
*būwim* [ˈbu:ʷm] *čūwīt-* [ˈtʃu:i:t]
Ar. *quwwat* > *qūwat* (*qūat*) [qu:ˈatˈ]

## WĀRMĀWA DIALECT

### Phonemic System

§ 61. The Wār. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Sul. dialect (*v.* § 1). The realizations of a number of phonemes are, however, different. For comparison, therefore, following each paragraph number that of the corresponding paragraph of the Sul. section is given in parentheses.

### Consonants

**b, d, g**

§ 62 (§ 3). In postvocalic position *b* coincides with *w* (*v.* § 67), e.g.

**ǰwāb* [dʒwɑ:u], **qabrisān* [qɑɹɾsɑ:n], **aybam* [ɕjwam]
**aybīnim* [ɕjqi:nim], **āfrāsyāb* [ɑ:fɾɑ:sjɑ:u]
**taybāt* [tˈɕjwɑ:tˈ] < Ar. *ṭabīʿat*, **qubūlī* [qu:li:]

§ 63 (§ 8). *d* has the same realizations in medial and final positions

as Sul. *d*, viz. [ə̯], &c., with the exception that it does not appear to be assimilated regularly by preceding *ī*, *y*, *m*, &c., e.g.

*sad* [sa̯ə̯], *badan* [baə̯an], *hōda* [họ:ə̯a]
*aydam* [ɛ̯jə̯am], *bimdarē* [bimə̯are·]

but [mɛ̯j'ja̯:n] *mayyān*

§ 64 (§ 23). *g*. In intervocalic position and following *n*, *r*, *y*, *z*, the phoneme *g* appears as a voiced, frictionless continuant. The blade of the tongue approaches, but does not touch, the velum in the position of [g], producing IPA [ɯ] with the lips in neutral position. This will be written [ğ]. Following a vowel in a closed syllable the same sound forms a series of diphthongs [ağ], &c., analogous to class (iii) (§ 50), e.g.

**āgir* [a̯:ğiɾ], **digān* [diğa̯:n], **sag* [sağ]
**aygirim* [ɛ̯jğrim], **bagzāda* [bağza̯:ə̯a]
**āsingar* [a̯:sinğaɾ], **dargā* [darğa̯:]
**mērg* [mẹ:ɾğ], **nizgara* [nizğara]

In the same contexts *g* occasionally disappears, e.g.

**lagal* [lağal] > *lēl* [lẹ:l], *a(g)īnā* [ɛ̯ina̯]
*miz(g)awt* [mizau̯t']

§ 65. These developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, i.e. from the phonemic writing *b*, *d*, *g*, the medial, continuant realizations [w, ə̯, ğ] would still be predictable. The case is altered, however, by the irregular occurrence of loanwords, be it from spoken Arabic or the dominant Sul. dialect, with intervocalic voiced plosives. The resulting confusion is well exemplified in the following sentences:

[aɥẹ: baə̯ali bọ: bidam. qabu:lim ni:ɛ]
**abē badali bō bidam. qabūlim nīa*

In certain verbal stems, moreover, the intervocalic continuant occurring in certain forms has been introduced into initial position, e.g.

*wastī* (Sul. *bastī*) after *aywast* (Sul. *aybast*)

Clearly, to preserve the predictability of the actual realization it is necessary to indicate in phonemic writing the incidence of either plosive or continuant allophones of *b*, *d*, *g*. Since a phoneme

*w* already exists it is only necessary to mark the variant realizations [ə, ə̯] as *ḍ* and [ğ] as *ğ*, e.g.

*ǰwāw, aywīnim, taywāt, qawrisān*, but *qūlī* (cf. § 62)
*baḍan, ayḍam, bimḍarē* (cf. § 63)
*āğir, bağzāḍa, mērğ*, but *aynā, mizawt* (cf. § 64)

t

§ 66 (§ 7). (*a*) When *t* occurs in final position, i.e. in pause or followed by another consonant, and is preceded by *a, ā*, it is realized as [ə], forming the diphthongs [a͜ə, a͜:ə], e.g.

*hātim* [ha͜:t'im] but *hāt* [ha͜:ə], *kar̆at* [kara͜ə] Ar. *karrat*

(*b*) When *t* is preceded by the diphthong *aw* it is not realized in final position, e.g.

*kawtim* [k'a͜ʊt'im] but *kawt* [k'a͜ʊ], *ḫawt* [ħa͜ʊ]

(*c*) As in § 65, these developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, since the spellings *hāt, kawt*, &c., would still indicate the realizations [ha͜:ə, k'a͜ʊ], &c., but the irregular occurrence of Sul. dialect forms, such as [ha͜:t', k'a͜ʊt'], requires that the proper War. forms be distinguished by writing *hāṭ, kaw(t)*, &c.

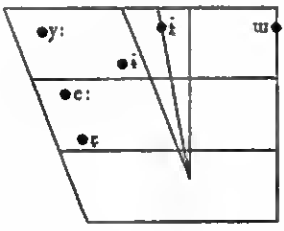
## Semi-vowels

§ 67 (§ 34). *w* is palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel, giving [ɥ], e.g.

*amawē biywīnim* [amaɥę: bi:ɥi:nim]

## Vowels

§ 68 (§ 39)



§ 69 (§ 41). *i*. Before *ḏ*, *ḡ* (*v.* § 65) and *ṯ* (§ 7 (*c*)), *i* is more close than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, central vowel [i̯], e.g.

*hātiğim* [ha̱:ˈtˈi̯ğim], *biṯkā* [bi̯ə̯ka̱·]

§ 70 (§ 43). *ē* is a half-close, front vowel [ę:], coinciding with the position of *ē* in the Sul. diphthong *ēy*, in all positions. The War. diphthong *ēy* normally has a slight anticipatory raising of the tongue, e.g.

*pēy* [pˈʲę:i̯].

§ 71 (§ 45). *a*. Both before and after *ī*, *y* the phoneme *a* is realized as a medium, front vowel [ɛ̨], coinciding with the position of *a* in the Sul. diphthong *ay*, e.g.

*haya* [hɛ̨jɛ̨], *ēmaya* [ę:mɛ̨jɛ̨]

§ 72 (§ 47). *ō*. The medium, back vowel [o:] is often preceded by an anticipatory lip-rounding, particularly following another vowel, e.g.

*šōrdiğma* [ʃ(w)ɔ:rdi̯ğma], *pēō* [pˈę:ʷǫ·]

§ 73 (§ 49). *ū* is sometimes palatalized by a following *y* or front vowel. The diphthong *ūy* is then realized as [y:i̯], or simply [y:], e.g.

*aparmūytō* [apˈarmy:i̯tǫ·].

## Modifications

### Consonant groups

§ 74 (§ 57). (*a*) The group *nd* of other dialects (Sul. *n* or *ŋ*) appears regularly as *n*, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [ma̱:niğ] *māniğ* | : | Sul. *māŋū* |
| [zi:na̱:n] *zīnān* | : | *zīŋān* |
| [tʃan] *čan* | : | *čan*, *čaŋ* |

(*b*) Corresponding to the medial and final *st* of other dialects the realization *s* is normal in War., e.g.

[dasak'] *dasak* : Sul. *dastak*
[zu:sa̱:n] *zūsān* : *zistān*
[misafa̱:] *Misafā* : *Mistafā*

Note the analogical back-formation in

*r̄ōstgār* < NP. *rōzgār*

## Vowel groups

§ 75. The group *-iw(i)-* is sometimes contracted to [u:], e.g.

*awim* [aˈwʊm] but *biwim* [bu:m]
*awir̄ī* [a̱uˈri:] but *biwir̄ī* [ˈbu:ri·]

This [u:] is also palatalized by a following front vowel (*v.* § 73), e.g.

*awēt* [aˈɥe:t] but *biwēt* [ˈby:e:t]
*awīt* [aˈɥi:t] but *biwīt* [bu̱:it, by̱:it, by:t]

§ 76. The group *iğ*, when followed by *ī*, *y*, is realized as [i:], e.g.

*hātiğī* [ha̱:ˈt'i:ʲi:], *wutiğya* [wʊˈt'i:(j)ɛ]

This is the only recorded occurrence of [i:i:] or [i:j] (cf. § 60).

## Treatment of loanwords

§ 77. Loanwords from Arabic suffer a variety of changes, e.g.

*laqam* ? < Ar. *laqab* 'by-name' *da'b* < Ar. *daf'* 'repulsion'
*talfī* < Ar. *ṭifl* 'child'+-ī

There is considerable confusion between *ḫ* and ', e.g.

*tamāḫ* < Ar. *ṭama'*, *ṭamā'at* 'desire'
*mawqīḫ* < Ar. *mawqi'* 'place' *ma'b* < Ar. *maḥw* 'erasure'
even *ǰurḫat* < Ar. *ǰur'at* 'courage'

Assimilation is common, particularly in the Ar. form *maf'ūl*, which yields a measure *mafmūl*, e.g.

*maǰmūr* < Ar. *maǰbūr* 'obliged'
*mazmūt* < Ar. *maḍbūṭ* 'strong'
*manmūn* < Ar. *mamnūn* 'thankful'

## BINGIRD AND PIŻDAR DIALECTS

### Phonemic System

**§ 78.** The Bin., Piž. dialects have the following phonemic system of twenty-eight consonants (including two semi-vowels) and nine vowels:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *p* | *t* | *č*(*ć*) | *k* | *q* | |
| *b* | *d* | *ǰ*(*j*) | *g* | | |
| *f* | *s* | *š* | *x* | *ḫ* | *h* |
| *v* | *z* | *ž* | *γ* | *ʿ* | (*ʾ*) |
| *m* | *n* | | | | |
| | *l* | *ł* | | | |
| | *r* | *ř* | | | |
| *w* | | *y* | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *i* | *ī* | | *u* | *ū* |
| | *ē* | *ə* | *ō* | |
| | | *a* | *ā* | |

The only systemic difference from the Sul. dialect lies in the absence of a phoneme *y* (v. § 81). There are, however, a number of differences in the phonetic realizations of certain phonemes.

### Consonants

#### Dental

**§ 79** (§ 7). *t* is a voiceless, aspirated dental plosive [tʿ] with the same unaspirated allophone [t] as in Sul. In no context is it either assimilated or lost, nor has it the allophone [ɔ].

**§ 80** (§ 8). *d* is invariably realized as a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d].

**§ 81** (§ 12). *n* has three allophones.

(*a*) Normally it is a voiced, dental nasal [n].

(*b*) Before a velar plosive it is realized as a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ]. This occurs only before a homorganic plosive and cannot be considered as a separate phoneme, e.g.

*xinkāndī* [xiŋˈkɑ:ndi·], *dang* [daŋg]

Before a palatalized velar plosive (*v.* § 83) a voiced, palatal nasal [ɲ] occurs, e.g.

*datxinkēnim* [datxiɲˈcˈęːnim], *dangī* [ˈdaɲɟiˑ]

### Palatal

§ 82 (§ 17). With some speakers *č*, *ǰ* are alveolo-palatal affricates [tɕ, dʑ]. For the same speakers the affricates [tʃ, dʒ] are palatalized allophones of *k*, *g* (*v.* § 83), there being no confusion between the two types.

The peculiarity is marked, as a mnemonic, by writing the phonemes *č*, *ǰ*.

### Velar

§ 83 (§ 25). *k*, *g* are strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel *y*. With some speakers this is carried to the extent of realizing, not [c, ɟ], but the affricates [tʃ, dʒ]. There is, however, no confusion with the phonemes *č*, *ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

## Vowels

§ 84 (§ 43). *ē* is normally a half-close, front vowel [ęː], as in the War. dialect (*v.* § 70).

In final position following *ī*, *y* it is realized as a shorter and more open [ę·], i.e. approaching *a*, e.g.

*swārīē* [swa̱ːɾˈję·]

§ 85 (§ 44). *ø* is commonly the rising diphthong [ø̱ˈe]. With some speakers it is so close [ɥe] as to suggest an analysis as *wē*.

## Diphthongs

§ 86. The diphthongs of class (iii), ending in [ə], do not occur (*v.* §§ 50, 53).

## Modifications

§ 87. There appears to be some neutralization of the opposition *ay* : *ē* in final position (the former being perceived as the latter), despite the morphological confusion which may result (cf. Muk. § 7 (*b*) 1), e.g.

*awē* < **awa-y*  *aw barē* < **bara-y*  *baw īšē* < **īša-y*

§ 88. With certain Piž. speakers the *w* of class (ii) dipbthongs is sufficiently consonantal in character to form an unpronounceable group with a following consonant group or final consonant. Accordingly an unstressed, non-phonemic [i] is realized after the semi-vowel (*v.* § 56 (*c*)), e.g.

*kawt-bū* [ˈk'awᵻtˈbu:]

### Consonant groups

§ 89 (§ 57). (*a*) The groups *nd* and *st* are normally preserved in all positions.

(*b*) There is a tendency to form inter- and postvocalic groups of 'voiced plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal' to replace *either* single consonant, especially in loanwords, e.g.

*bandan* < Ar. *badan* 'body' *mumbārak* < Ar. *mubārak* 'blessed' *ḫambāl* < Ar. *ḫammāl* 'porter' *ṫimb* < Ar. *rimḥ* 'lance' *mazanda* < Ar. *maẓannat* 'conjecture' *dōndim* < Tk. *dönüm* "acre"

### Treatment of loanwords

§ 90 (§ 77). In addition to the changes described in § 89, loanwords from Arabic suffer such arbitrary treatment as

*ṫalam* < Ar. *ṣanam* 'idol'
*ɣayānatī* < Ar. *xiyānat* 'treachery'+*-ī*

when they are not completely disguised by such malapropisms as

*ta'fīl* for both Ar. *tasfīl* 'recording' and *tājir* 'merchant'
*tarbīat* for Ar. *tartīb* 'arrangement'

The phonemes *ḫ* and *'* are often confused, e.g.

*ḫātā* < Ar. *'aṭā* 'gift' *ḫāyla* < Ar. *'ā'ilat* 'family'
*ḫazīz, naḫmān* < Ar. *'Azīz, Nu'mān*
*'arb* < Ar. *ḫarb* 'war'

## MUKRĪ DIALECT

### Phonemic System

§ 91. The phonetic description of the Muk. dialect in Mann, Muk. §§ 1–7, suggests a phonemic system identical with that of the neighbouring Piž. dialect (*v.* § 78). This is supported by the transcription of the few Muk. songs in Mokri, op. cit., pp. 106–31.

### Consonants

§ 92. Mann states (Muk. § 2, end) that *l* and *ł* are interchangeable in most, but not all, words. These exceptions alone suffice to justify the separate phonemic status of the two consonants. For the rest it can only be noted that in neighbouring dialects there is extremely little, if any, alternation between these sounds.

§ 93. Neither Mann nor Mokri differentiate between *r* and *ṛ* in Mukrī. As the same is true of both writers' transcriptions of the Sul. dialect (Mann's in manuscript), where the opposition undoubtedly exists, the possibility of its existence in Muk. also is not thereby precluded. Moreover, Mann occasionally noted [rr], e.g. [kurr] 'boy', but normalized *kur* for publication.

### Vowels

§ 94. Mann's transcription *ûê* must be for (ɥe, oe]. His manuscripts often show [*ûă*] before normalization. Since either vowel may be stressed the group appears still to be comparable with the single phoneme Sul. *o*, albeit alternating with *wē* (*v.* §§ 44, 85), e.g.

| Muk. | | | cf. Mokri |
|---|---|---|---|
| $7^{30}$ *nûêzh-* | = *nwēž* | : | 410 *nwēzh* |
| $3^{6}$ *khûên* | = *xon* | : | 428 *khwēn* (Sul., *sic*) |
| $13^{21}$ *khûên* | = *xwēn* | | |
| $7^{37}$ *gûê* | = *go* | : | (354 *kwê*) |

### Diphthongs

§ 95. The transcriptions [ēĭ] (in manuscript) and *ôû* are but minor distortions of *āĭ*, *au*, which correspond exactly to Sul. *ay*, *aw* (*v.* § 50).

It must be assumed (despite Mann, Muk. § 6) that the long notation of the second vowel in the diphthongs *āĭ*, *âû*, &c., is a result of distortion of the sounds in slow dictation.

## ARBIL DIALECT (Kd. *Hawlēr*)

### Phonemic System

§ 96. The dialect of Arbil, together with those of Koi Sanjaq (Kd. *Kōya*), the *Xōšnāw* and Rewandiz (Kd. *Ṛawāndiz*) areas, and probably the *Birādōst* area north of Rdz., has the following

phonemic system of twenty-seven consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *p* | *t* | *ć* | *k* | *q* | | |
| *b* | *d* | *ǰ* | *g* | | | |
| *f* | *s* | *š* | *x* | | *ḥ* | *h* |
| *v* | *z* | *ž* | *γ* | | ʿ | (ʾ) |
| *m* | *n* | | | | | |
| | *l* | | | | | |
| | *r* | *ř* | | | | |
| *w* | | *y* | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ɨ* | *i* | *u* | *ū* |
| | *ē* | *ō* | |
| | *a* | *ā* | |

The system is differentiated from that of the neighbouring Piž. and Muk. dialects by its lacking the phonemes *l* and *ə*, and by the form of the affricates *ć, ǰ*.

## Consonants

§ 97. *ć, ǰ* are regularly realized as the alveolo-palatal affricates [tʂ, dʐ], i.e. *ć, ǰ* (*v.* § 82).

§ 98. *l* of other dialects is regularly replaced by *r* (cf. § 14), e.g.

*dir* 'heart' Sul. *dil* *datēm* 'I say' Sul. *alēm*

[l] is only heard as a recent borrowing, possibly due to radio broadcasts in the Sul. dialect.

## Vowels

§ 99. The diphthongal phoneme *ə* does not occur. It is replaced by various other phonemes, e.g.

*n(ɨ)vēž* 'prayer' Sul. *nəž* *sūr* 'salty' Sul. *sər*
*xwndin* 'to study' Sul. *xənin* *gē* 'ear' Sul. *gə*
*gūz* 'walnut' Sul. *gəz*

## Modifications

§ 100. As in Piž., Muk. (*v.* § 87) there is some neutralization of the opposition *-ay* : *-ē*, e.g.

*ḥarbī aw šawē* < **šawa-y*
*bīfō nāw bīray* : *aminyān hāwēlta nāw bīrē*

§ 101. The phonemes *ḫ* and ' are almost regularly interchanged by unlettered speakers, e.g.

*ḫaft* > *'aft* 'seven' *ḫājī 'alī* > *'ājī ḫalī* 'Haji Ali' (not an isolated spoonerism)

## SŪRČI DIALECT

### Phonemic System

§ 102. The Sur. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Arb. dialect (*v.* § 96) but the realizations of certain phonemes are appreciably different.

### Consonants

§ 103. *k, g* are palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*, being realized as [c, ɟ]. Before *ā* a fleeting [j] is heard, which does not, however, palatalize the consonant, e.g.

*kē* [cᶜe:] but *kā* [kʲa:], *gā* [gʲa:]

§ 104. *ǰ, ž* are replaced by the alveolo-palatal fricatives [ɑ, ʒ], which for mnemonic purposes are represented phonemically as *ǰ, ž* (cf. § 82).

### Semi-vowels

§ 105. *w* is palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*, giving [ẇ]. Following another consonant in the same syllable it is realized before *ī* as a very close [ɥ], e.g.

*biniwīsim* [binʲẇi:sim], but *dwīnē* [ˌdɥi:ne·] (cf. Sul. *donē*)

### Vowels

§ 106. *ā* is an open, front vowel of an exceptional length [a:], causing most Sur. speakers to give an unmistakable impression of 'bleating'.

### Modifications

§ 107. *ā, ē,* and *ī* are sometimes reduced in final position, to coincide with short vowel phonemes,

*ā* > *a* *ē* > [e] > *a* *ī* > *i*

e.g. *dē čāra dam* < *čārā*
*dē ǰōta kayn* < *ǰōtē*
*awi bird* < *awī*

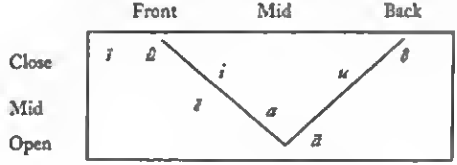
## B. DIALECTS OF GROUP II

### AKRE DIALECT (Kd. *Ākrē*, Ar. *ʿAqra*)

### Phonemic System

**§ 108.** The Ak. dialect, and that of the surrounding *Zēbārī* tribe, has the following phonemic system of thirty consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

| | *Labial* | *Dental, Alveolar* | | *Palato-alveolar* | *Velar* | *Uvular* | *Pharyngal* | *Glottal* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop and Affricate | *p* | *t* | *ţ* | *č* | *k* | *q* | | |
| | *b* | *d* | | *ǰ* | *g* | | | |
| Fricative | *f* | *s* | *ṣ* | *š* | *x* | | *ḥ* | *h* |
| | *v* | *z* | *ẓ* | *ž* | *γ* | | *ʿ* | (ʾ)[1] |
| Nasal | *m* | *n* | | | | | | |
| Lateral | | *l* | | | | | | |
| Vibrant | | *r* | *ṛ* | | | | | |
| Semi-vowel | *w* | | | *y* | | | | |




### Consonants

#### Labial

**§ 109.** *p* is a voiceless bilabial plosive, aspirated [pʿ] in all positions except in contact with a following consonant.

**§ 110.** *b* is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive [b]. In secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it is devoiced, e.g. *bu xó* [ḅxu:] (*v.* § 148).

[1] See § 137.

The secondary group [ḅh] is further reduced to [pʿ], e.g.

*bihāvēža* [ḅʲhɑ:ve:ʒa > ʲpʿɑ:ve:ʒa]

§ 111. *f* is a voiceless labio-dental fricative [f].

§ 112. *v* is a voiced labio-dental fricative [v]. It occurs frequently, corresponding generally to Sul., &c., *w*.

*Note.* In the south the *Zēbārī* territory meets that of the *Sūrēī*, and in the west that of an isolated group of *Gērān* tribes, still speaking a Kd. dialect akin to *Sinaī*. In some Zeb. villages, therefore, the phonemes *v* and *w* coincide in *w*.

§ 113. *m* is a voiced bilabial nasal [m].

### Dental and alveolar

§ 114. *t* is a voiceless dental plosive, aspirated [tʿ] in all positiona except in contact with a following consonant.

§ 115. *ṭ* is a voiceless, unaspirated, alveolar emphatic plosive [t] produced by the blade of the tongue touching the upper tooth ridge, the rest of the tongue being depressed and rising at the back, thus forming a central hollow (as in Ar. ط).

§ 116. *d* is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive [d] in all positions.

§ 117. *s* is a voiceless alveolar fricative [s].

§ 118. *ṣ* is a voiceless, alveolar emphatic fricative [s] with the same tongue position aa *ṭ* (*v.* § 115). It is identical with Ar. ص.

§ 119. *z* is a voiced alveolar fricative [z].

§ 120. *ẓ* is a voiced, alveolar emphatic fricative [z], the voiced counterpart of *ṣ* (§ 118). It is not identical with Ar. ظ [ð], though this letter, with ض, is often used to write the phoneme *ẓ*.

§ 121. *n* represents a voiced and non-bilabial nasal. Normally, that is, it is dental [n], but it may have labio-dental [ɱ] or velar [ŋ] allophones in contact with a following *v* or *k*, *g* respectively, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *nivist* [niʲvistʿ] | *biniva* [ʲbiɱvɑ] |
| *bān* [bɑ:n] | *bāng* [bɑ:ŋg] |

In certain numerals only, in the context *ānz*, it is realized as a simple nasalization of the vowel, e.g.

*yānza* [jɑ̃:ʲza] '11'

§ 122. *l* is a voiced, dental lateral non-fricative [l]. The velar [ɫ] is heard extremely rarely. In [tiɫp'] it may be caused by the preceding emphatic *ṭ*. [baɫaɫlɑ:] is a loan from Sul., &c., *barallā*. But [faɫa] 'Christian', Ar. *fallāḥ*, is extraordinary.

§ 123. *r* is a voiced dental single flap [ɾ]. It never occurs in initial position. It is sometimes assimilated or lost before *l*, e.g.

*har l min* [hal min]

§ 124. *r̄* is a voiced dental roll (trill) [r].

### Palato-alveolar

§ 125. *č* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]. In secondary contact with *t* it is reduced to [ʃ], e.g.

*nāčita* [ˈnɑ:ʃt'a]

§ 126. *ǰ* is a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ].

There appears to be no reason for considering these two affricates as other than single phonemes (cf. § 19).

§ 127. *š* is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ].

§ 128. *ž* is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ].

### Velar

§ 129. *k* is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive [k']. It is palatalized by a following front vowel (including *ā*, § 149) or *y*.

§ 130. *g* is a voiced velar plosive [g]. It is palatalized by a following front vowel or *y*.

§ 131. *x* is a voiceless velar fricative [x].

§ 132. *γ* is a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. It is very uncommon and even in loanwords is commonly replaced by *x*.

### Post-velar

§ 133. *q* is a voiceless uvular plosive [q].

§ 134. *ḥ* is a voiceless pharyngal fricative [ħ].

§ 135. *ʿ* is a voiced pharyngal fricative [ʕ], identical with Ar. ع.

§ 136. *h* is a voiceless glottal fricative [h].

§ 137. The glottal stop [ʔ] is not a distinguishing feature of any utterance and is thus not a consonant phoneme in Ak. Kd.

All initial vowels are realized with a preceding glottal stop but this is normally lost in morpheme juncture, e.g.

*ăxivĭt* [ˈʔɑ:xivi:tʻ], but *bāxivĭt* [ˈbɑ:xivi:tʻ]

There is occasional variation between normal juncture of this sort and a rarer, more 'open' juncture, represented by a byphen, e.g.

*tāxivĭt* [ˈtʻɑ:xivi:tʻ] ~ *t-āxivĭt* [tʻˈˈʔɑ:xivi:tʻ]

*ťŏš-āvā* [ru:ʃʔɑ:ˈvɑ:] (cf. Sul. [rǫ:ʒa:ˈwa:])

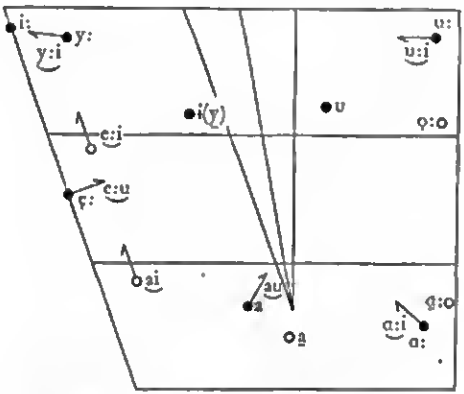
## Semi-vowels

§ 138. *w* is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant [w]. It is not noticeably palatalized by a following front vowel.

§ 139. *y* is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant [j].

## Vowels

§ 140




§ 141. *i* is invariably a very close, front vowel [i:].

§ 142. (*a*) *i* is normally a half-close, front-central vowel [i]. In proximity to [y:] (*v.* § 149) it is also realized with lip-rounding as [y̯], e.g.

*dirăn* [dy̯ˈry:n].

(*b*) In unstressed position between two consonants *i* may not be realized. Compare:

*bikam* [ˈbik'am] : *či bikam* [ˈtʃiḅk'am]
*kirin* [k'iˈɾin] : *kirinava* [k'iɾnaˈva]

and *i* < *ī* (*v.* § 283 (*a*)) in

*dā čīt* [dɑ: ˈtʃi:t'] : *dā čita* . . . [ˌdɑ:ʃt'a ˈ. . .]

(*c*) As the number of consonant groups tolerated in initial position in Ak. is limited (*v.* § 153 (*a*)) the syncopation of *i* in initial unstressed syllables is much less common than in Sul. (cf. § 42), though it does occur, e.g.

*birā* [bɾɑ:] 'brother', but [ˈbiɾɑ:] 'O brother!'

The general intolerance of consonant groups often leads to the realization of a short, unstressed *i*-like vowel, not here considered as phonemic (*v.* § 153 (*c*)).

§ **143.** *ē* is a medium, front vowel [ę:], except in the diphthong *ēy*, where it approaches a half-close, front [e:].

§ **144.** *a* is normally a half-open, front-central vowel [a]. In the diphthong *ay* it approaches a half-open, front [ɛ]. Following an emphatic *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, it is slightly more back [ą].

§ **145.** *ā* [ɑ:] is an open, back vowel, varying with different speakers between cardinals [ɑ and ɔ]. Following an emphatic *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, it is slightly more back [ɑ̣:].

§ **146.** *u* is a half-close, back-central vowel [ʊ].

§ **147.** No medium back vowel occurs in Ak. Corresponding generally to the vowels *ō*, *ū* of other Kd. dialects, Ak. has [u:, y:] respectively. It is convenient, and within the Ak. system unambiguous, to represent these phonemically as *ō*, *ū*, or, as here for mnemonic purposes, as *ô*, *û*.

§ **148.** *ô* is a close, back vowel [u:]. In contact with the emphatic consonants *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, it is somewhat more open [ọ:], e.g.

*dôst* [du:st'] *bôṣṭ* [bọ:ʂt]

In the common phrase *bô xô* there is frequently a reduction, thus [bu:- > bʊ- > ḅ-xu:], written *bu xô*, and so coincidence with *p xô*.

§ **149.** *û* is a close, front vowel with lip-rounding [y:]. Some speakers (it is said, the natives of one only of the three Kd. quarters of Akre, and certainly the non-Kurdish, Christian population) replace this vowel regularly by [i:], thus *mû* > *mī*. As a result of this, *û* occasionally replaces etymological *ī* in common Ak., e.g.

*'ûd* < Ar. *'īd* *šanga]bû* < **bī* 'weeping willow'

## Diphthongs

§ **150.** There are two classes of diphthongs in the Ak. dialect, namely those ending in:

(i) a close, front vowel, [e:i, ai, o:i, u:i, y:i],
(ii) a close, back vowel, [e:u, au].

They are phonemically identical with the corresponding Sul. diphthongs of the same classes (*v.* §§ 50–52) and for the same reasons may be written *ēy*, *ay*, *āy*, *óy*, *ûy*, and *ēw*, *aw*.

## Distribution of Phonemes

### Consonants

§ **151.** The recorded Kd. vocabulary of the Ak. dialect does not lend itself to the provision of a complete series of oppositions, as in Sul. (*v.* § 54).

From the following it is clear that all consonants except *r* appear and preserve their identity in initial position in the word. All consonants (with the possible exception of *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*) occur individually in roedial position. The question of final consonants requires further investigation (*v.* § 172).

*p* : *b* : *f* : *v* : *m* : *w*

*pān* 'broad' : *bān* 'roof' : *vān* 'these' : *mān* 'to remain' : *wān* 'those'. *pīr* 'old' : *bīr* 'memory' : *fīl* 'elephant' : *vī* 'this' : *mīr* 'Emir' : *wī* 'that'.

*dapá* 'plank', *dabáš* 'glue', *qafás* 'cage', *avá* 'this', *kamár* 'arch', *pāwán* 'grazing'.

*ṭóp* 'ball' : *tób* 'roll of cloth' : *tóv* 'seed'. *sēv* 'apple' : *dēm* 'unirrigated land' : *dēw* 'demon'.

*t* : *ṭ* : *d* : *s* : *z* : *n*

*tā* 'fever' : *ṭā* 'branch' : *dā* 'in order to' : *zā* 'well!'. *tû* 'mulberry' : *dû* 'after' : *sû* 'breeze': *zû* 'early' : *nû* 'new'.

*katî* 'sand-grouse' : *kudî* 'cub' : *kâsî* 'person' : *kazî* 'plait' : *kanî* 'laughter'.

*mat* 'aunt', *ɟad* 'roo', *kas* 'person', *gaz* 'yard', *ɟān* 'fence'. *dôst* 'friend' : *bôʃt* 'hand span'.

*s* : *x* : *ɣ* : *χ* : *ħ* : *ʜ*

*sûr* 'salty' : *zûr* 'hillock' : *šûr* 'rampart'. *zār* 'a die' : *ɣār* 'cold', *sivândâ* 'eaves' : *ʒivân* 'shepherd' : *ʒivânî* 'tryst'.

*xasî* 'mother-in-law' : *ɟazî* 'cold, numb' : *tašî* 'spindle' : *tažî* 'full'.

*bas* 'enough' : *baz* 'suet' : *paz* 'sheep'. *bôš* 'abundant' : *rôž* 'day'.

*ʃ* : *ž* : *č* : *ǰ* (: *y*)

*šîn* 'blue' : *žîn* 'life' : *ǰûn* 'to chew'. *šîv* 'gully' : *čîv* 'stick'. *čār* '4' : *ǰār* 'time' : *yār* 'friend'.

*pêšû* 'mosquito', *bîžî* 'bastard', *kûčik* 'puppy', *ḥajî* 'pilgrim'.

*šâš* 'mad', *rôž* 'day', *xāč* 'cross', *tā(n)ǰ* 'crown'.

*č* : *ǰ* : *k* : *g* : *q*

*čār* '4' : *ǰār* 'time' : *kār* 'work; ornament', *kêr* 'knife' : *qêr* 'pitch'. *čâ* 'tea' : *kâ* 'where is ?' : *gâ* 'ox'.

*mâčâ* 'Club (cards)', *bājân* 'aubergine', *nôkâ* 'now', *lagân* 'basin', *âqâr* 'plain'.

*pûč* 'withered' : *gôj* 'club-footed' : *bûk* 'bride'.

*k* : *g* : *x* : *γ*

*kîʀ* 'silent' : *gîʀ* 'rough' : *xîʀ* 'spherical'. *kaw* 'partridge' : *xaw* 'sleep'. *gaʃ* 'bright' : *γaʃ* 'trick'.

*rikêb* 'stirrup', *ǰigâra* 'cigarette', *šixûr* 'porcupine', *qiγaqiγ* 'croaking'.

*tîk* 'crack', *xîg* 'stomach', *xôx* 'peach', *ǰāγ* 'fringe'.

*x* : *γ* : *ḥ* : *ʾ* : *h*

*xurî* 'wool', *γirî* 'glue', *harî* 'mud'. *ḫafîk* 'throat' : *'afô* 'pardon'. *ḫêltîr* 'camel' : *hêstîr* 'mule'.

*buxûr* 'incense', *âγâ* 'Agha', *rîḫân* 'basil', *dirâhâ* 'yonder'.

*čîx* 'reed-mat', *ruḫ* 'soul', *ʀah* 'root'.

*m* : *n*

*mû* 'hair' : *nû* 'new'. *mâlîn* 'to sweep' : *nâlîk* 'mattress'.

*qaymâγ* 'cream' : *qânâγ* 'stage'.

*têm* 'I come' : *tên* 'you, they come'. *šûm* 'unlucky' : *šûn* 'place, trace'.

*l : r : r̄*

*lā* 'side' : *r̄ā* 'up'. *lús* 'smooth' : *r̄ús* 'naked'.
*pālá* 'workman' : *pārá* 'money'. *gôrī* 'turn' : *gur̄ī* 'mangy'.
*pil* 'turn' : *pir* 'bridge' : *pir̄* 'full'. *čil* '40' : *čir̄* 'tough'.

## Vowels

§ **152.** The short vowels *i*, *u* rarely occur in initial or final position. *û* occurs initially only in *ûždán* < *wiždān* 'conscience'. Otherwise the vowel phonemes preserve their identity in most positions.

*ī : ē : ā : ô : û*

*īš* 'work' : *ēš* 'pain' : *āš* 'mill'. *ôda* 'room'.
*pīr* 'old' : *pēr* 'day before yesterday' : *pār* 'last year' : *pôr* 'hair' : *pûč* 'withered'. *ṣār* 'cold' : *sôr* 'red' : *sûr* 'salty'.
*kī* 'who?' : *kē* 'whom?' : *kā* 'where is?', *gā* 'ox' : *kô* 'that' : *gû* 'faeces'.

*i : a : u*

*kir̄* 'silent' : *kar̄* 'deaf' : *kur̄* 'boy'. *gah* 'joint' : *guh* 'ear'. *či* 'what?' : *ču . . . na* 'nothing'.

*Long vowel : short* (*ī : i*, &c.)

*pīr* 'old' : *pir* 'bridge'. *kīr* 'penis' : *kir* 'did'.
*kēr* 'knife' : *kir* 'did'.
*āv* 'water' : *av* 'this'. *māst* 'curds' : *mast* 'drunk'. *tā* 'fever' : *ta* 'thee'.
*xôr̄ī* 'rascal' : *xur̄ī* 'wool'.
*kûr* 'deep' : *kur̄* 'boy'.

*Long vowel : diphthong* (*ē : ay*)

*tēr* 'satiated' : *ṯayr* 'bird'. *vē mālē* 'this house' : *vī mālay* 'this property'.

## Consonant groups

§ **153.** (*a*) Consonant groups are comparatively rare in the Ak. dialect, particularly in initial position. The following groups alone are attested initially, and then mainly in secondary contact:

*br, dr, fr, kr; by, dy, gy, šy; sm, sp, st; ṣṯ;*[1] *īk; xw*[2]

[1] Cf. *Xālidī*'s writing *ṣṯ-* for *Bitlīsī*.
[2] Not normal (e.g. *xārin, xāja*: Sul. *xwārdin, xwāja*), but only in *xwā, xwē* < **xā* 'salt' + *-ā, -ē*.

(*b*) The commonest medial consonant groups may be summarized as follows:

*lC, mC, nC, rC, sC, šC, vC, xC, zC, žC*

The only groups of two plosives are individual occurrences of *bd, kb, tq*. The only true geminate is *ll*, and that rare.

There are no primary three-consonant groups apart from *CCy*, e.g. *fty, ngy, rsy, xty, zdy*.

(*c*) 22 final groups of two consonants are tolerated, viz.

*n+g, f, k; r+č, f, k, m, š, x, z; s+k, t; št*

and individual occurrences of *fs, ft, hm, hn, hr, ḫf, lg, lt, ṣṭ*

When a consonant group which is permissible in medial, but not in final, position occurs in pause, or followed by a third consonant, a short, unstressed *i*-like vowel is realized between the consonants of the group. This is not written in the phonemic transcription (cf. § 56 (*c*)).

*bira bar ṣalbē* [ˌbira baɾ ˈsa̤lbe̞:] *ṣalb kay* [ˈsa̤lᵢb̥ k'a̤i]

§ 154. The occurrence of heavy secondary consonant groups is quite common, owing to the frequency of the prepositions *l, p, t, v* and the modal affix *t-* (*v.* §§ 301, 281 (*a*)).

Groups of three consonants are commonly realized with no intervening vowel, thus *CCC*, e.g.

*ṭayr* p *xurtī* [ta̤iɾpˈxuɾt'i:]
*kiřim* p *pēnǰ* [k'irimpˈp'e̞:ndʒ]
*saḫ* tk*atē* [ˈsaħtk'at'e̞:]

A short, unstressed vowel [i] may, however, be realized, either before the final consonant of the group, thus (*C*)*CC*ᵛ*C*, e.g.

*az* t*šēm* [as t'ᵢʃe̞:m]
*saḫ* l *āgirī* [saħ lᵢʔɑ:giɾi:]
*kaft* l *xānī* [k'aft lᵢˈxɑ:ni:]

or, less commonly, before the penultimate consonant, thus (*C*)*C*ᵛ*CC*, e.g.

*dat* p *nān* [dat'ᵢbnɑ:n]
*saḫ* tk*atē* [ˈsaħᵢtk'at'e̞:]
*hal* st*ā* [ˈhalᵢst'o:]

Owing to this variation *CCC* : *CC*ᵛ*C* : *C*ᵛ*CC* the vowel cannot be regarded as phonemic.

Larger secondary groups may be occasioned by the non-realization of unstressed, but phonemic, *i* (*v.* § 142). The pattern of realization is then $C^{v}CC^{v}CC$, i.e. by groups of two consonants from the last, a non-phonemic [i] being realized where necessary, e.g.

*yē t-fikirīt* [ˌjęːtfikʻˈɾiːtʻ] but *tē t-fikirit-ē* [ˈtʻęː tʻˈfkʻiɾˌtʻeː]
*galak t-girīt* [gaˈlaktʻˈgˌɾiːtʻ]

## SHEIKHAN AND DOHUK DIALECTS (Kd. *Šēxān, Dahōk*)

§ **155.** The Shn. and Dhk. dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of Akre (*v.* § 108). The only phonetic difference is in the realization of *ō*, *ū* as the simple vowels [oː, uː], rather than [uː, yː], respectively.

## AMADIYE AND ZAKHO DIALECTS (Kd. *Āmēdī(ē), Zāxō*; Ar. *ʿAmādīya*)

### Phonemic System

§ **156.** The dialects of Amadiye and Zakho, together with those of the intermediate *Barwārī-žōr*, *Sindī*, and *Gullī* areas, have the following phonemic system of thirty-three consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight consonants:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ṕ* | *ť* | | *č* | *ḱ* | | | |
| *p* | *t* | *ṭ* | | *k* | *q* | | |
| *b* | *d* | | *ǰ* | *g* | | | |
| *f* | *s* | *ṣ* | *š* | *x* | | *ḥ* | *h* |
| *v* | *z* | *ẓ* | *ž* | *γ* | | ʿ | (ʾ) |
| *m* | *n* | | | | | | |
| | *l* | | | | | | |
| *r* | *ṙ* | | | | | | |
| *w* | | | *y* | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *ī* | *ū* | *i* | | *u* | *ō* | |
| | | | *ē* | | | | |
| | | | | *a* | *ā* | | |

The system differs from that of Ak. (*v.* § 108) in having two series of voiceless plosives, namely *ṕ*, *ť*, *ḱ* aspirated and *p*, *t*, *k* unaspirated.

## Consonants

§ 157. The aspirated voiceless plosives *ṕ, ṫ, ḱ* correspond phonetically in every particular to the Ak. phonemes *p, t, k* [p', t', k']. The Am., Zx. series *p, t, k* are unaspirated in all contexts. The significant factor in the oppositions [p' : p, t' : t, k' : k] being the aspiration it is convenient to mark this positively in the phonemic notation *ṕ, ṫ, ḱ*. Examples:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ṕēšū* 'mosquito' | : | *pē* 'foot' |
| *ṕaḫnī* 'heel' | : | *paḫtin* 'to cook' |
| *ṫaxṫ* 'bench' | : | *taḫtī* 'felt rug' |
| *ḱar* 'donkey' | : | *kar* 'piece' |
| *ḱurḱ* 'fur coat' | : | *kurk* 'broody (hen)' |

## Vowels

§ 158. *ū* [y:] is confused by some speakers with unrounded *ī* [i:], e.g.

*dūng* [dy:ŋg] > *dīng* [di:ŋg]

## Consonant Groups

§ 159. (*a*) In Am. secondary consonant groups are realized as in Ak. (*v.* § 154), i.e. either without an intrusive vowel, as *CCC*, e.g.

*čē tkan ž hirīē* [tʃẹ:tkanʃ'hiri:ẹ:]

or as *CC*ᵛ*C*, e.g.

*ṙašīd l baγdā* [raˌʃi:d l'baγ'dɑ:]

or as *C*ᵛ*CC*, e.g.

*čōn p ṙēva* [tʃu:n'prẹ:va]

(*b*) In the remaining dialects of the group there is less flexibility. Whenever three consonants come into secondary contact a short, unstressed [i] is realized before the penultimate consonant of the group, thus *always C*ᵛ*CC*. Similarly when two consonants in secondary contact follow a pause they are preceded by a short, unstressed [i], thus ᵛ*CC*. Examples:

Bar. *ḱaṫ ž darva* [k'at''ʒ'darva]
Zx. *dasṫ p šōli* [dast''p'ʃu:li:]
Gul. *ž zamān* [ˈʒzaˈmɑ:n]

## HAKARI AND BOHTAN DIALECTS (Kd. *Hakârî*, *Bôtân*)

**§ 160.** No satisfactory phonetic description of either of these dialects exists. The most recent description, that of Hadank (op. cit., pp. 20–25), is based on the speech of the cosmopolitan Emîr Kamuran Alî Bedir-Xan (KABX), of Bohtani family, and is of little value. It is possible, however, to cull the following facts from the description in *L'Alphabet Kurde*, a series of articles in the Kd. periodical *Hawar* (Damascus, 1932–43) by Emîr Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan (CABX).

(*a*) *Hawar*, No. 11, p. 7. 'Les Kurdes de la région constituée par le (Botan) au centre, le (Heqarî) au Nord et le (Behdînan) au Sud prononcent . . . le (û) comme le (u) français, ainsi que la majorité des kurdes comme le (u) allemand. Comme conséquence naturelle de cette prononciation, les mêmes kurdes prononcent le (o) comme le (ou) français, . . .'

(*b*) CABX states (*Hawar*, No. 6, p. 10) that there is a 'manque de (û) bref dans la langue Kurde'. Accordingly he uses the letter *u* for 'presque un nouveau son'. His description of this sound is somewhat obscure, but Lescot (op. cit. (ii), p. vi, n. 2) summarizes thus, '*u*—correspond au son *ww*', i.e. [wi]. But Hadank gives no special description of this sound, cf. op. cit., p. 29, *gundekî Kurdistanê*, transcribed phonetically [gúndäkî kurdiatánē].

(*c*) *Hawar*, No. 10, p. 5. 'De même certaina Kurdes . . . prétend(*ent*) que dans la langue Kurde aussi existe(*nt*) deux (ك), comme en arabe le (س) et le (ص), le (ت) et le (ط) et ainsi de suite.' CABX, however, does not consider that the opposition $k_1$:$k_2$ exists and makes no distinction in his alphabet. But the following note, *Hawar*, No. 25, p. 2 n., is revealing: '*Me "kher" yanî mirovê ko nabihîze, bi vî awayî nivîsand, da ko ji "kerê" heywan bête veqetan(d)in. Ji xwe ev "kh" ji ya din stûrtir e.*' 'We have written *kher*, i.e. a man who cannot hear, in this manner to differentiate it from *ker*, the animal. This *kh* is by nature *thicker* than the other.' The choice of letters is unfortunate as *kar* 'donkey' has the aspirate and *kar* 'deaf' the unaspirated ('*thick*' = emphatic ?) *k*. Nevertheless the opposition appears to exist in (?) Bohtani.

(*d*) *Hawar*, No. 4, p. 9. 'On pourrait noter ce son au moyen du (ë), comme dans les mots (pëz پز) et (sëd سد) . . .; avec la dictée arabe, on pourrait peut-être rendre ces sons en durcissant les

consonnes et en écrivant (بِنْ, صِد).' 'Nous avons constaté, d'autre part, la même variante de prononciation dans des mots empruntés à l'arabe. ēsqer, ēreb, ēll.' (I.e. *'askar*, *'arab*, *'alī*.) CABX is speaking of his own pronunciation 'en tant qu'originaire de Botan'. He attributes the difference in pronunciation of these and like words to an insignificant variation in the vowel alone and, accordingly, no distinction of the consonant values *s* : *ṣ*, *t* : *ṭ*, *z* : *ẓ*, or indication of ', is made in his alphabet.

It is reasonable to assume from these notes concerning the debatable phonemes *ō*, *ū*; *u*; *k*, *ḵ*, &c.; *ṣ*, &c., that the Hakari and Bohtani dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of the Am., Zx. dialects (*v.* § 156).

## BITLIS DIALECT (Kd. *Bidlīs*)

**§ 161.** *Xālidī*, writing in *Mūṣkī*, a few miles west of Bitlis, comes as near as the Arabic alphabet permits to giving a complete picture of the phonemic system of this *Bitlīsī* dialect.

A distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives is not made, nor is *r* specially marked. On this subject, however, see the note (op. cit., p. 208) s.v. كَر, *'kar*, "donkey" and "deaf" and "loan" and "piece", and the Kurds have slight differences in their pronunciations of these words, according to the meanings given, which none but they can arrive at, and it is not possible to describe them here.' Cf. Zx. *ḵar* 'donkey', *ḵarī* 'deaf', *ḵar* 'piece', but *qar* 'loan'.

The emphatics *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ* and ' all appear, described exactly as in the Ak., Am., &c., dialects.

It is justifiable to assume then that the *Bitlīsī* dialect has a phonetic system identical with the Am., Zx. dialects (*v.* § 156) with the reservation that *ō*, *ū* are pronounced simply as [o:, u:] respectively.

## EREVAN DIALECT (Kd. *Rewān*)

**§ 162.** For the last three decades Erevan, capital of the Armenian S.S. Republic, has been the centre for an increasing output of Kd. books and periodicals. These have appeared first in a Latin script, from 1929 to 1945, and since then in a modified Cyrillic. The language of these publications is, presumably, the dialect of

the Erevan area, albeit normalized. This, with the Kd. dialects spoken in the neighbouring Georgian and Azerbaijan Republics, has been the subject of the researches of a number of Soviet scholars. The fullest recent description of the Rwn. dialect is that of Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii)).

## Phonemic System

**§ 163.** Kurdoev (ibid., pp. 15 ff.) gives the following system for the Rwn. dialect of thirty-one consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *p̌* | *ť* | *č* | *k̆* | | | |
| *p* | *t* | *č* | *k* | *q* | | |
| *b* | *d* | *ǰ* | *g* | | | |
| *f* | *s* | *š* | | *x* | *h̲* | *h* |
| *v* | *z* | *ž* | | *γ* | (') | |
| *m* | *n* | | | | | |
| | *l* | | | | | |
| | *r* | *ṙ* | | | | |
| *w* | | *y* | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ï* | | *i* | *u* |
| | *e* | *ö* | *o* |
| | | *a* | *ā* |

This system shares with that of the Am., Zx. dialects the two series of voiceless plosives, aspirated and unaspirated, but differs from it in the following particulars:

(i) absence of the emphatic consonants *ṭ*, *ṭ̲*, *ǧ* (*v.* § 164),
(ii) presence of a third affricate *č́* (*v.* § 165),
(iii) classification of *x*, *γ* as uvular, rather than velar,
(iv) realization of ' (*v.* § 166),
(v) replacement of *u* by *o* (*v.* § 167),
(vi) realization of *o*, *u*, [o:, u:] rather than [u:, y:].

## Consonants

**§ 164.** The emphatic consonants *ṭ*, *ṭ̲*, *ǧ* are not marked in any way. In some words the emphasis of an initial *ṭ̲-* in the Zx.

dialect appears to be reflected by the 'aynation' of the following vowel in Rwn. (*v.* § 166), e.g.

*Zx. ʕārī, ʕāv, ʕāžī* : Rwn. *ʿāri, ʿāv, ʿāži*

**§ 165.** The affricate phoneme written ⟨, then ʿ, in Rwn., and here as *ʿ*, is variously described. Sokolova (op. cit. (ii), p. 79) quotes Cukerman simply, '*ʿ* - pharyngalized'. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 513) is inconsistent. Misled apparently by the diacritic, he describes ʿ first as an aspirate (with ʰ, ᵀ, ᴷ) and then as having 'a certain pharyngalization'. Adjarian[1] transcribed the sound *ʿ* (unaspirated) in opposition to *ʿʰ* (aspirated). This is borne out by Miller's (op. cit. (i), p. 72), Bakaev's, and Kurdoev's comparison with Armenian ց, i.e. a voiceless, *ejective* affricate [tʃʼ].[2]

**§ 166.** In place of a consonantal phoneme ʿ there appear various modifications of the vowel *a* by means of a diacritic (*á, ǎ*). Miller (op. cit. (i), pp. 68–69) describes the sign both as indicating 'aynation (*ajnacija*) of a vowel, or an *ayn*, or its voiceless equivalent *ḥ*, following it' and as 'simply an initial vowel, but pronounced with *Presstimme*'. He further observes that the Kurds of Azerbaijan replace *á* by *h*, e.g. *árd* > *hərd* 'earth'.

Sokolova (op. cit. (i), p. 14) refers to the 'upper-pharyngal articulation which is a characteristic of Armenian Kurdish and there apparently forms a pharyngalized *a* (aˤ) in place of an etymological ʕ'. Bakaev (op. cit., p. 512) defines *ǎ* as 'pharyngalized *ə* . . . pronounced with tension of the walls of the pharynx'. Kurdoev (op. cit. (ii), p. 17) describes it as a 'tense, aynized sound of the type of Arabic ʕ', approaching long *ā* in medial position.

Thus the sign appears to be ambiguous, representing initially '+*V* and medially *V*+', with certain exceptions. The ʿ may be written over the vowel in transliteration also, thus

*ánī, árab, ǰimāát, tárī, táv, tážī*, &c.

## Vowels

**§ 167.** For *u* there appears a vowel, written in Latin script as *y* (cf. *u* for *ū*), but in Cyrillic as *ӧ*. This Kurdoev describes as a 'palatalized labial front' vowel, with two variants, viz. pronounced

[1] 'Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet', *M.S.L.* XVI of 1910.
[2] See W. S. Allen, 'Phonetics of an Eastern Armenian speaker', *T.P.S.* of 1950, pp. 188, 194.

as Turkish *ö* following *f*, *t*, *d*, and *x*, and acquiring a *w*-colouring following *k*, *k*, *g*, *γ*, and *q*. Bakaev defines it as a 'central (nearer to back) labialized vowel'. It may be transcribed as *ö* (contrast Sul. *ø*, § 44).

### OTHER NORTHERN KURDISH DIALECTS

**§ 168.** It is impossible to give a sufficient phonetic, still less phonemic, description of any of the remaining northern Kd. dialects from the published material available. The Latin alphabet designed for these dialects by Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan (*v.* § 160), far from representing any one dialect, is intended to give only the 'highest common factor' of all northern Kd. dialects. The letters employed give a basic system of twenty-five consonants (including two semi-vowels) and eight vowels, as follows:

a (= *ā*), b, c (= *ǰ*), ç (= *č*), d, e (= *a*), ê, f, g, h, ĥ (= *ḥ*), i, î, j (= *ž*), k, l, m, n, o (= *ō*). p, q, r, (rr = *ṙ*), s, ş (= *š*), t, u, û, v, w, x, x̂ (= *γ*), y, z.

### Index of phonemes

**§ 169.** [See overleaf]

Unless otherwise stated, = signifies 'the description given in the paragraph noted to the left applies'.

## C. GENERAL

### STRESS, INTONATION, AND JUNCTURE

**§ 170.** The Kd. dialect material available, both that presented here and published previously, does not provide a suitable basis for a full description of the features of stress and intonation.[1] Stress has been mentioned above, particularly as a criterion in the choice of a phonemic orthography for the various dialects. It will also be treated incidentally below when it appears relevant to the morphological description.

[1] McCarus, op. cit., gives a first and, notwithstanding a certain inaccuracy in his data, a useful analysis of the 'Non-Linear Phonemes' of the Sul. dialect.

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| | *Sul.* | *War.* | *Pil. &c.* | *Arb. &c.* | *Ah.* | *Am. &c.* | *Rom.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a* | 45 | 71 | = Sul. | = | 144 | = | = |
| *ā* | 46 | = | = | 106 | 145 | = | = |
| *ə* | 3 | 62 | = Sul. | = | 110 | = | = |
| *ĕ* | 17, 19 | = | 82 *ĕ* | 97 | 125 | = | = |
| *ē* | | | | | | | 165 |
| *d* | 8, 9, 37 | 63 | 80 | = | 116 | = | = |
| *ḏ* | 43 | 70 | 84 | = | 143 | = | = |
| *f* | 4 | = | = | = | 111 | = | = |
| *g* | 23, 25 | 64 | = Sul. | 103 | 130 | = | = |
| *γ* | 27 | = | = | = | 132 | = | 163 |
| *h* | 32 | = | = | = | 136 | = | = |
| *ḥ* | 29, 31 | = | = | 101 | 134 | = | = |
| *i* | 41–42 | 69 | = Sul. | = | 142 | = | = |
| *ī* | 40 | = | = | = | 141 | = | = |
| *j* | 18–19 | = | 82*j* | 97 | 126 | = | = |
| *k* | 22, 25 | = | 83 | 103 | 129 | = | = |
| *k̄* | | | | | 157 | = | = |
| *l* | 13 | = | = | = | 122 | = | = |
| *ł* | 14 | = | = | 98 | | | |
| *m* | 6 | = | = | = | 113 | = | = |
| *n* | 12 | = | 81 | = | 121 | = | = |
| *ŋ* | 24–25 | = | | | | | |
| *o* | 47 | 72 | = Sul. | = | 147–8 *o* | = | 163 *o* |
| *ø* | 44 | = | 85 | 99 | | | (*ö*, see *u*) |
| *p* | 2 | = | = | = | 109 | = | = |
| *p̄* | | | | | 157 | = | = |
| *q* | 28 | = | = | = | 133 | = | = |
| *r* | 15 | = | = | = | 123 | = | = |
| *ṛ* | 16 | = | = | = | 124 | = | = |
| *s* | 10 | = | = | = | 117 | = | = |
| *ṣ* | (10 (*š*)) | | | | 118 | = | 164 |
| *ʃ* | 20 | = | = | 104 *ʃ* | 127 | = | = |
| *t* | 7, 37 | 66 | 79 | = | 114 | = | = |
| *t̄* | | | | | 157 | = | = |
| *ṭ* | | | | | 115 | = | 164 |
| *u* | 48 | = | = | = | 146 | = | 167 *ö* |
| *ü* | 49 | 73 | = Sul. | = | 147, 149 *ü* | 158 *ü* | 163 *ü* |
| *v* | 5 | = | = | = | 112 | = | = |
| *w* | 34 | 67 | 88 | 105 | 138 | = | = |
| *x* | 26 | = | = | = | 131 | = | 163 |
| *y* | 35 | = | = | = | 139 | = | = |
| *z* | 11 | = | = | = | 119 | = | = |
| *ẓ* | | | | | 120 | = | 164 |
| *ʒ* | 21 | = | = | 104 *ʒ* | 128 | = | = |
| *ʿ* | 30–31 | = | = | 102 | 135 | = | 166 |
| [*ʔ*] | 33 | = | = | = | 137 | = | = |
| Diphthongs | 50–53 | = | 86 | = | 150 | = | = |
| Distribution | 54–55 | = | = | = | 151–2 | = | = |
| Consonant groups | 56–57 | 74 | 89 | = | 153–4 | 159 | = |
| Vowel groups | 36, 58–60 | 75–76 | | | | | |
| Phonemic system | 1 | 61 | 78 | 96 | 108 | 156 | 163 |

Although the spacing and punctuation employed in the texts implies some statement of different juncture and intonation patterns it is, in part at least, conventional.

## VOWEL COMBINATION

**§ 171.** With certain minor variations from one dialect to another vowels in internal and external combination undergo the following changes. Examples, unless otherwise stated, are from Sul.

(*a*) *ĭ*, *ŭ*, following any other vowel are reduced to the corresponding semi-vowel, e.g.

*ĕ-, ka-, dă-, xŏ-, nū-*+**-ĭ* > *ĕy, kay, dăy, xŏy, nūy*
*dĭ-, dă-*+**-ŭ* > *dĭw, dăw*
*pĕ, ge, māma, gă, gŏ, gū*+**-ĭ* > *pĕy, gey, māmay, găy, gŏy, gūy*

The special cases of *-i/ĭ*+**-ĭ* > *-i/ĭy* > *-ĭ*, *-ū*+**-ŭ* > *-ūw* > *-ū*, are described in § 60.

(*b*) *ĕ* normally retains its identity, sometimes coalescing with preceding *ĕ*, *a*, e.g.

*ĕ-, nū-*+**-ĕ(t)* > *ĕ(t), nwĕ(t)*
War. *gaya-*+**-ĕ(t)* > *gayĕ(t)*
Bin. *ŧĕ, qisa*+**-ĕ* > *ŧĕĕ, qisĕ*

Unstressed *-ĕ* may appear as *-ya* following any other vowel (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

*bida, nadă*+**-ĕ* > Bin. *bídaya*, Sul. *n(ad)áya*
*kursĭ, dĕ, ge, ĕwāra, kābrā, Ĵŏ, xānū*+**-ĕk* > *kursĭyak,*[1] *dĕyak,*[1] *geyak,*[1] *ĕwārăyak, kābrăyak, Ĵŏyak, xānŭyak*

(*c*) *a* is generally linked to a preceding vowel, other than *ĭ*, *ŭ*, by the semi-vowel *y*, e.g.

*dĕ, ge, ĕwāra, kābrā, Ĵŏ*+**-a* > *dĕya, geya, ĕwāraya, kābrāya, Ĵŏya*
Bin. *dĕ, sa, ăyā, čaqŏ*+**-aka* > *dĕyaka, sayaka, ăyāyaka, čaqŏyaka*

[1] See § 35 (*b*).

Alternatively, unstressed *-a* may be elided following *ē, a, ō, ō*, but not normally *ə*, in internal combination, e.g.

*dē, čwāra, kābrā, jō, (gə)+*-akā > dēkā, čwārakā, kābrākā, jōkā, (gəyakā)*

*dənē, čwāra, čstā, nīwatō, (kə)+*-awa > dənēwa, čwārāwa, čstāwa, nīwatōwa, (kəyawa)*

The vowel *a* follows *ī, ū* directly, but the resulting group may be reduced in unstressed position, *īa, ūa > ē, ō* respectively (*v.* § 59), e.g.

*kurtī, ōrdū+*-akā > kurtīakā, ōrdūakā > kurtēkā, ōrdōkā*

(*d*) *ā* is joined to preceding *ē, ə, ō, ō* by the semi-vowel *y*, e.g.

*dē, gə, čirā, halō+*-ān > dēyān,[1] gəyān,[1] čirāyān, halōyān*

It coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

*čwāra+*-ān > čwārān*

It follows immediately on *ī, ū*, e.g.

*kurtī, xānū+*-ān > kurtīān, xānūān*

(*e*) Summary.

| | ī- | ē- | ə- | a- | ā- | ō- | ū- |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -ī | *īy > ī* | *ēy* | *əy* | *ay* | *āy* | *ōy* | *ūy* |
| -ē | *īā, yē* | *ēā, ē* | | *ē* | *āē* | | *ūē, wē* |
| -ə | *īya* | *ēya* | *əya* | *aya* | *āya* | *ōya* | *ūya* |
| -a | *īa (> ē)* | *ēya, ē* | *əya* | *aya, a* | *āya, ā* | *ōya, ō* | *ūa (> ō)* |
| -ā | *īā* | *ēyā* | *əyā* | *ā* | *āyā* | *ōyā* | *ūā* |
| -ū | *īw* | | | | *āw* | | *ūw > ū* |

## SECONDARY CONTACT OF CONSONANTS

§ 172. (*a*) In all Kd. dialects final consonants are particularly unstable. There is a strong tendency for a final voiced plosive, affricate or fricative to be devoiced in pause or in secondary contact with a voiceless consonant, e.g.

[1] See § 35 (*b*).

Sul. *la bar kird*, [k'irt] *gurj ḫamām* [gurtʃ ħ . . .]
*sarī barz kird* [bars k' . . .] *sad pōlīs* [sat p' . . .]
*wakū sag sar* [sak sar]
Ak. *az xulām* [ʔas x . . .] *xô hižānd*. [hiʒɑ:nt]
*tô čituv ḫākimī* [ʃt'uf ħ . . .] *ô watuv*. [wat'uf]

In one borderline case, that of Ak., &c., *-av* (*v.* § 300 (*a*)), so written in the light of the general form *-(a)va*, a voiced consonant is also regularly devoiced in contact with a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

Ak. *bidav min* [bidaf min] *čôv lālī* [tʃu:f l . . .]

(*b*) To a lesser extent a final voiceless plosive or fricative may be voiced in contact with a voiced consonant or vowel, e.g.

Sul. *pāšāyak abē* [pa̱:ʃa̱:jɛg a'bɛ:] *amaŋay hōš bū* [họ:ʒ 'bu:]
*agar šēt nīt* [ʃɛ:d 'ni:t]
Bin. *awīš dē* [awi:ʒ de:] *bas malikšā* [baz m . . .]
*bē-kayf nīm* [be:k'ɛjv ni:m]
Ak. *dast dā* [daz dɑ:] *ammā* p *wī* [ammɑ: bwi:][1]
Am. *gōšt žē* [gu:ʒ$^{d}$ ʒe:]

(*c*) In secondary contact occasioned by the loss of an unstressed *i* (*v.* §§ 42, 142) a voiced consonant is generally assimilated to a voiceless consonant, whether it precedes or follows, e.g.

Sul., &c. *kāsibī* [ka̱:s'p'i:] (cf. *aspāb* < Ar. *asbāb*)
War. *tōzkē* < **tōzikē*
Ak., &c. *či bikayn* ['tʃipk'ajn] *bēžitav xô* [be:ʃt'af xu:]

There are, however, exceptions, e.g.

Sul. *ŕāw ū ŕāwžgār* < **ŕāw-ū-šikār*

(*d*) There are certain, very rare, examples of the assimilation of a consonant to another with which it is not in direct contact, e.g.

Sul. *sik* < *zik* < *zig*
Bin. *yabar* < *xabar*
Bin., Muk. *kutī* < *gutī*

[1] This example is exceptional. The Ak., &c., prepositions *p*, *t* and the modal prefix *t-* (*v.* §§ 301, 281 (*a*)) are so normalized, rather than *b*, *d*, *d-*, because of the regular appearance of the voiceless consonant in contexts where a voiced consonant would normally be preserved, e.g.

Ak. p *laz* [p'i laz] *az tnivīsim* [ast'i'ni'vi:sim]
t *dilē xōdā* [t'i dil] *azē tnivīsim* [aze:tni'vi:sim]
*tēnī tbim* [t'e:'ni:tbim]

# PART II

# SULEIMANIYE, *WARMAWA*, BINGIRD, *PIŽDAR*, *MUKRĪ*, ARBIL, REWANDIZ, AND *XŌSNAW* DIALECTS

## A. MORPHOLOGY

### NOUNS

#### Definition and Number

§ 173. (*a*) In Sul., War. the simple noun, formally singular, may have a generic or indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 1 *fāy kirda šāx ā kĕw*: he set out for the mountains
10 *kuṛ . . . fōltin*: the lads went
48 *sarī biniādam*: men's heads
War. 118 *lagal ṛafiqim*: with my friends

(*b*) In the Sor. dialects and Muk. the same is true of a formally singular noun, be it in the direct or oblique case (*v.* § 180), e.g.

Bin. 312 *talayān bō dirust dakāt*: he makes traps for them
Piž. — *dastītān bīlōn*: wash your hands
Muk. 83[17] *šĕx nārdyān*: the sheikhs sent . . .
§ 12 *šĕrī dabĕ bikūžin*: you must kill lions

More frequently, however, the morpheme *-ān* is present to indicate indefinite plurality (*v.* § 177 (*a*)).

§ 174. (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix *-aká* serves to define a noun, e.g.

Sul. 11 *xalqaka wutyān*: the people said
26 *ĵĭtaka abĕ ba 'ayba*: the matter will become a shame

(*b*) Following a consonant or a semi-vowel (i.e. a diphthong) the suffix *-aká* is added directly to the noun, e.g.

Sul. — *pyāwaka*, *ĵawaka*: the man, night

It combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), thus: following *ə*, it appears as *-yakə́* in all dialects, e.g.

Sul. — *gəyaka*: the ear

following *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *ō*, it appears as *-kə́* in Sul., War., Muk., e.g.

Sul. — *ēwāraka*, *kābrāka*: the evening, fellow
War. — *dēka*, *fōka*: the village, barley
Muk. § 9 *angustīlaka*, *āyāka*: the ring, Agha

but as *-yakə́* in Bin., Pīž., Arb., e.g.

Bin. — *dēyaka*, *sayaka*, *āyāyaka*: the village, dog, Agha

With preceding *ī*, *ū* the suffix commonly coalesces, e.g.

Sul. — *xānūaka* > *xānwaka* > *xānōka*: the house
12 *qāpīaka* > *qāpēka*: the gate
Muk. § 9 *jūānū*ʷ*aka*, *jūānwaka*: the foal

§ 175. (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. the suffix *-ə́*[1] also defines a noun.

In Sul. it is used in narrative with known characters or things, e.g.

Sul. 30 *gurzēkī dā ba xānūa*: he struck the (said) house a blow with his mace
59 *dāpīra*: the old woman (in question)

This usage is less common in the other dialects, but does occur, e.g.

Muk. 10[6] *jūa*: the Jew

(*b*) The main function of the suffix *-ə́* is to appear in conjunction with the demonstrative adjectives (*v.* § 192).

In Sul. a noun or nominal phrase (*v.* § 185 (*b*)) qualified by a demonstrative adjective always takes the suffix *-ə́*, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw dašta*: that plain
32 *am kiča*: this girl
37 *am qūwat ū harakata*: this power and vigour

In War. *-ə́* occasionally does not appear after a noun so qualified, e.g.

War. 218 *am lōrat ū nāw-ī bīst*: he heard of this fame

See also § 199.

[1] The suffix *-ə́*, taken by *Wahbī* and Edmonds (quoted by me, *BSOAS*, XVI. 541) as a feminine form of 'definite article', is exclusively a vocative and hypocoristic ending (*v.* § 181 (*b*)).



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In Bin., Piž., Muk. a noun takes the suffix *-á* when qualified by the simple demonstrative adjective, but not when the adjective has either the plural or feminine oblique endings (cf. § 192 (*b*)).

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by the demonstrative adjective *aw* only takes the suffix *-á* when the sense is 'proximate' (*v.* § 192 (*b*)), e.g.

Arb. 417 aw *kārwāna*: this caravan
Rdz. 475 aw *sē birāyāna*: these three brothers

The examples in the texts of *-aká* appearing in this context, e.g.

Arb. 437 aw *birāyaka*: this brother

appear to be vulgar, if not 'wrong'.

(*c*) The suffix combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), i.e. following *ē*, *e*, *a*, *ā*, *ō* it generally appears as *-yá*, e.g.

Sul. — *aw amustīlaya* : that ring
1 *am pālāya*: this king
Bin. 300 *am qisaya*: this talk
Muk. § 10 *aw xulāya*: that God
Arb. 421 *aw čākaya*: this good deed

In Muk. (and possibly Xoš.) it may, irregularly, coalesce with preceding *a*, e.g.

Muk. 9[9] *aw angustīla*: that ring
Xoš. 443 *aw bīša*: this thicket

§ 176. (*a*) The suffixes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., ʿ*ēk*, Muk. ʿ*ēk*, Rdz. ʿ*ēk*, ʿ*ak*, Arb., Xoš. ʿ*ak*, give a noun indefinite sense, or one of unity, e.g.

Sul. 1 *mamlakātēk*: a country
2 *šartēk akayn*: we shall make a bond
5 *yakēk*: someone
Muk. 5[33] *wārčēk*: a bear
Arb. 414 *rōžak . . . xawnakī dīt*: one day (he) saw a dream

The forms *-ē*, *-ēk* alternate freely except (with E.) when followed immediately by a personal pronoun suffix, the Izafe, the conjunc-

tion *ū* 'and' or the enclitic present tense of the substantive verb, when *-ēk* normally occurs. Exceptions to this rule, such as

Sul. 82 *šartē-ṭ lagal:* a bond with thee

(*-ṭ* personal pronoun suffix, v. § 197), are very rare.

(*b*) In Sul., Bin., Piž. the suffix appears regularly as *-yak*[1] following a vowel (*v.* § 171 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 30 *xānū́*yak: a house
49 *qarawēla*yak: a bedstead
98 *malā*yak *ū faqē*yak: a mullah and a student
Bin. 300 *sa*yak: a dog
307 *dē*yak: a village

In the shorter form, which rarely occurs in Sul. after another vowel, the vowel length is preserved, e.g.

Sul. 28 *pārčayē kāyaz*: a piece of paper

In War. the postvocalic forms *-ya*, *-yē* ([-jɛ, -jẹ·], *v.* §§ 70, 71) appear to alternate freely, e.g.

War. 195 *hafta*yē: a week
213 *yakāna*ya: a boar
224 *dav'a*yē: one time
233 *tō*ya: someone like thee

Mann quotes the following combinations of *-ēk* with preceding vowels,

Muk. § 11 *yalabáyēk*, *pādišā́ēk*: a victory, king
*mēšá*+*-ēk* > *mēšḗk*: a thicket

The latter may be a mistaken hearing of *-áyak* (cf. Muk. 11[6] *hēnā́nawa* 'they brought back', for *hēnā́yānawa*), but Mokri, Song 383, also has Muk. *jōgēk* 'a stream' < *jōga*. Mann has tacitly normalized for publication in some places, e.g.

Muk. 2[35] *lā dḗʸēk*, for MS. *lā dḗäk*: in a village, cf. Bin. 307 *dē*yak.

[1] E., and some Kd. writers, normalize by writing *-ēk* ێك, and *-yēk* یێك following a vowel, e.g.

E. *brayēk*, *kundeyēk*: a brother, water-skin

The Arb., Rdz., Xoš. form *ʿak* may either be linked to a preceding vowel by *y*, e.g.

Arb. 414 *pālāyak*: a king
419 *hōdayak*: a room

or the *a* may be elided following an *a*, e.g.

Arb. 441 *kundak*: a water-skin
Xoš. 443 *bīšak*: a thicket

The suffix may coalesce with a preceding *l*, giving *-ēk* (*v.* § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Arb. 427 *grānīak* > *grānēk*: a famine

(*c*) A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (*v.* § 191) commonly takes the suffix *-ē(k)*, *-ak* and may, nevertheless, have a plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 8 *čī kičēk . . . čī kičē*: whichever girl
18 *čay wazīrēk*: some viziers
Muk. § 11 *čand dēwēk*: some demons
*hamū kārēk*: all affairs
Arb. 421 *čī xawnak*: what (sort of) dream

In conjunction with the numeral *yak* (*v.* § 193) a number of irregular contractions occur, thus:

Sul. — *yakēkyān*, but War. 252 *yēkyān*: one of them
Sul. — *har yakē*, but Bin. 308, Arb. 436 *har yaka*: each one

§ 177. (*a*) The morpheme *-ān* indicates plurality.[1] In its absence a noun may still have an indefinite plural sense (*v.* §§ 173, 176 (*c*), 185 (*b*)). Conversely an indefinite plural noun may take the ending *-ān*,[2] and in all Sor. and Muk. normally does so, e.g.

[1] A few nouns have plurals in *-āt*, *-hāt*, *-jāt*, derived ultimately from the Ar. fem. pl. in *-āt*, but here calques from NP., e.g.

*bāx*, *bāyāt* 'garden(s)', NP. *bāy*, *-āt*
*bakārāt* 'spices', NP. do.
*dē*, *-hāt* 'village(s)', NP. *dih*, *-āt*
*mīwa*, *-hāt*, *-jāt* 'fruit(s)', NP. *mīwe*, *-jāt*

The morpheme *-gal*, which (with its derivatives *-al*, *-ayī*) is the regular plural ending of the dialects of *Sina*, *Kirmānšāh*, &c. (*v.* Barr, Mokri, opp. citt.), appears in Sul. with the names of animals as a 'collective' morpheme only, e.g.

*gā* 'ox', *gāgal* 'herd of cattle'
*mē* 'sheep', *mēgal* 'flock of sheep'

[2] Cf. § 239 (*a*).

Sul. — *palīmānān lāxyān lē bīṙwāya*: if horns were to grow on those with regrets
Bin. 367 *astērān muwāfīqin*: the stars are favourable
Piž. 409 *la binyādamān*: from men
Muk. § 25 *birāyān*: brothers

A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (*v.* § 191) may take the ending *-ān*, which then precedes the suffix *-ē(k)* (*v.* § 176 (*c*)), e.g.

Sul. 4 *čaŋ kasānēk*: some persons
War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people

In general, however, the ending *-ān* appears in conjunction with the defining suffix *-akā* (§ 174), forming *-akān*, e.g.

Sul. 107 *wulāxakāntān*: your steeds
Muk. § 25 *aṙpakān*: the horses
Xoš. 446 *āyākānī tir*: the other Aghas

(*b*) The ending *-ān* combines regularly with a preceding vowel (*v.* § 171 (*d*)), thus:

it is joined to preceding *ē*, *e*, *ā*, *ō* by *y*, e.g.

Sul. — *am birāyāna*: these brothers
Piž. — *la hartik lāyāndā*: on both sides

but coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Sul. — *am ǰōgāna*: these streams (*ǰōga*)
Piž. 399 *law qisāna*: in these matters (*qisa*)

and, in all dialects, *-akān* (*v.* (*a*) above).

In Sor. and Muk., however, *-ān* may coalesce, irregularly, with preceding *ā*, e.g.

Muk. § 25, fn. 1 *malāyān*, *malān*: mullahs
Arb 415 *aw birāna*: those brothers (*birā*)

(*c*) In Sul., War. a noun qualified by a cardinal number (*v.* § 194) does not normally take the ending *-ān*, e.g.

Sul. 16 *dū ṙōž āya sē ṙōž*: two or three days
21 *lam ḫawt* kuṙay *sē* kuṙyān: three of these seven sons of his
44 *sē čwār* šaw: three or four nights
War. 194 *dū sē* ḫaywān: two or three animals

In all Sor. and Muk., however, a noun so qualified commonly does take the plural ending, e.g.

Bin. 340 *bīst ū ćwār sa'ātān*: twenty-four hours
352 *aw sē darkāna*: those three doors (*darka*)
Piž. 385 *sē řōžān*: three days
402 *dagal da nafarān*: with ten men
Muk. § 48 *ćwār kuřān*: four boys

In Rdz. in this context the plural ending appears as *-ā* (cf. Ak., &c., *-ā(n)*, § 261 (*b*)), e.g.

Rdz. 491 *sē řōžā*: three days
493 *sē saḫātā*: three hours

§ 178. Of the nominal suffixes:

A. *-aká* (§ 174) B. *-ān* (§ 177)
C. *ʿēk*, *ʿak* (§ 176) D. *-á* (§ 175)

the order of possible affixation to a noun is, for all dialects,

*A B C D*,

though A, C, and D are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are as follows:

A Sul. 36 *arzaka*: the ground
AB Piž. 382 *šitilakān*: the plants
Xoš. 451 *law wazīrakān*: of those viziers (*v.* § 175 (*b*))
B War. 209 *bāzē xalqān*: some people
Rdz. 504 *la wurāyān*: on horses
BC Sul. 4 *čaŋ kasānēk*: some persons
BD Sul. 78 am *kićāna*: these girls
Piž. 382 aw *šitilāna*: these plants
C Sul. 2 *sēwēk*: an apple
Xoš. 445 *dākak*: a mother
D Sul. 59 *dāpīra*: the old woman
Piž. 390 aw *āsina*: this iron

For combinations with other suffixes see §§ 187, 199.

## Gender and Case

§ 179. (*a*) In Sul., War. there are no inflective morphemes,[1] and hence no distinction, of *grammatical* gender or case. In the system

[1] The ending *-á* with certain noun forms is not a case ending but an enclitic postposition (*v.* § 236 (*b*)).

of Vocative endings, however, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed (*v.* § 181 (*b*)). Otherwise the uninflected noun appears in all contexts.

(*b*) In all Sor. and Muk. a distinction of two grammatical genders is observed, viz. Masculine and Feminine. This distinction is manifest in the inflective Oblique case morphemes (*v.* § 180 (*b*))[1] and, in Bin., Piž. only, in the forms of the Izafe (*v.* § 183 (*a*)).

As in Sul., War. a distinction of natural gender is observed in the vocative endings.

Where a noun has natural gender the grammatical gender coincides with this. Otherwise it is largely unpredictable.

§ 180. (*a*) All Sor. dialects and Muk. present a declensional system of two cases, Direct and Oblique, in addition to the partial system of Vocative forms (q.v., § 181 (*b*)).

A noun in the Direct case may function as:

(i) Subject of a sentence or clause, or a Predicative noun,
(ii) Direct Affectee of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (*v.* § 223).

Moreover, there is a general tendency, though varying in effect from one function to the next, for the Direct case form of a noun to replace the Oblique.

A noun in the Oblique case may be:

(i) Direct Object of a sentence or clause,
(ii) (in Sor. only) Agent of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (*v.* § 224),
(iii) governed by a preposition,
(iv) following another noun with the Izafe (*v.* § 184), or following the Demonstrative Izafe (*v.* § 188),
(v) used adverbially.[2]

A noun in the Oblique case, when followed by the Izafe (*v.* § 182), does not take Oblique case endings. The Izafe is enclitic to the uninflected noun.

(*b*) A noun in its simplest form is in the Direct case. The Oblique case is marked by the addition to the singular noun of

[1] The distinction was demonstrated for Muk. in *BSOAS*, XVI. 539 ff.
[2] The examples at Muk. § 18 fall rather under category (iii). But cf. § 240 (*a*).

the morphemes, Masculine *-ī*, Feminine *-ē*. Plural nouns in *-ān* have no separate Oblique form. Thus:

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dir. | -Ø | -Ø | *-ān* |
| Obl. | *-ī* | *-ē* | |

Following a vowel the M. Sg. Obl. ending appears regularly as *-y*, e.g.

Bin. 315 *ʿaṙay bikā*: (who) might do battle

Very rarely *-ay* appears to be reduced to *-ē* (cf. § 87).

The F. Sg. Obl. ending *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, yielding *-ē*, e.g.

Bin. — *bō qalādizē*: for Qala Diza
308 *ba qisētān*: according to what you say (*qisa*)

but not with preceding *ē*, thus

Bin. 300 *la ṙēē*: on the road

Following *ā* the ending *-ē* may appear as *-ya* (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Pīž. 398 *wālīy baɣdāya*: the governor of Bagbdad
Muk. $1^{23}$ *bō qal'dya*, $2^{14}$ *la qal'dyē*, in MS. both *qalḍyā*

When a noun is followed by any of the suffixes of definition *-akā* (§ 174), *-d* (§ 175), *ʿēk*, *ʿak* (§ 176) the Oblique case ending is *-ī*/*-y* for both genders. Thus:

| | Sg. M. & F. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dir. | *-akā* | *-ā* | *ʿēk*/*ʿak* |
| Obl. | *-akāy* | *-āy* | *ʿēkī*/*ʿakī* |

(*c*) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Bin. — *ʃūti* (M.) *dakayn*: we plough
— *nwēžē* (F.) *dakan*: they pray
— *ḫakāyatēkī* (? F.) *dagērīnawa*: I shall tell a story
316 *mamlakatī* (M.) *tēk bidā*: (he may) destroy the country
Muk. $4^{3}$ *ḍwē* (F.) *nafrōlē*: should not sell water

(ii) as Agent (*v.* § 224),

Bin. 319 *ʃīnakay* (F.) *pēy gut*: the woman said to him
320 *pēy gut, patrūsyāy* (M.): Petrusya said to them

327 *xwāy* (M.) . . . *ḫātā kird*: God gave . . .
341 *arṣalānī* (M.) *šīrēkī gayāndē*: Arselan struck him with a sword
348 *-y qiṣa kird . . . naḫmānī* (M.): Naaman said

(iii) governed by a preposition,

Bin. 319 *ba dim āwē* (F.): at the water's edge
349 *ba sūrānawē*: (began) to drive (all infinitives F.)
353 *la ćī rōžēkīdā* (F.): on whatever day
Piž. 398 *bō xātirī žinakay* (F.): for the woman
Muk. 59[7] *ba kāka mamī* (M.): to brother Mem
6[21] *ba arzēdā*: to the earth
Bin. 312 *la 'arzī*: from the earth } ('*arz* M./F.)
Muk. 7[18] *la rēą*
Bin. 300 *la rēē* } on the road (*rē* F.)

(iv) following the Izafe or Demonstrative Izafe,

Bin. — *lapī dastī* (M.): palm of the hand
— *zīnī aspī* (M.): saddle of the horse
— *zīnī māīnē* (F.): saddle of the mare
304 *ī bāxawānakay* (M.): the gardener's
346 *'ašqī aw kićay* (F.): in love with that girl
357 *bargī qāwaćētīē*: clothes of the coffee-sellers' calling (all abstract nouns in *-ī* (*v.* § 255 (*a*)) F.)
Muk. 1[15] *mīwānī darwēškī* (M.): guest of a dervish
147[14] *āwī daznožē* (F.): ablution water
Arb. 425 *la panāy dārakī* (F.): under a tree

(v) with adverbial sense,

Muk. 3[4] *nīwašawē* (F.): at midnight
3[29] *qadīrēkī* (? F.): for a while

## Vocative

**§ 181.** (*a*) A noun in its uninflected form may serve as a vocative. All such vocatives are stressed on the first syllable, e.g.

Sul. — *bírā*: brother!
16 *dmōzā*: cousin!
35 *mál'ūn*: accursed one!
120 *ḏfrat*: wife!
120 *ḏydwaka*: husband!
Muk. 151[11] *xdtūn astī*: Lady Asti!

A vocative preceded by a particle, such as *ay*, *yā*, is generally uninflected, e.g.

Sul. 3 *ay ḋfrat*: O wife!
21 *áy kuř*: O lads!
53 *yá* xidrī *ziŋa*: O immortal Khidr!

Similarly a noun qualified by any determinant, or by a personal pronoun suffix (v. § 197), is otherwise uninflected in the vocative,[1] e.g.

Sul. — kíčim, *lagal tōma*: daughter, my (business) is with thee
4 birākān*im*: my brothers!
21 kuř*im*: my lads!
89 kuř*ī xōm*: my son!

In Muk. an uninflected plural vocative is formed with the word *galī* (**gal* 'group'+Izafe *-ī*?, cf. § 262 (*b*)), e.g.

Muk. 24[3] (MS.) gálī *fūān mērān*: O (group of) youths!

(*b*) Nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings in the vocative:

Sg. M. & F. *ʹ-a* F. *ʹ-ē*[2] Pl. M. & F. *ʹ-īna*[3]

Examples:

Masculine

Sul. — *kúřa, matirsa*: don't be afraid, lad!
— *kóra, čīt awē*: blind man, what dost thou want?
52 *áy xwāya*: O God!
Muk. 20[9] *ábdālbaga*: Abdal Beg!

Feminine

Sul. — *pū́ra šukrī*: 'Auntie' Shukri!
12 *dā́ya gyān*: mother dear!
— *kíčē, malarza*: don't tremble, lass!
— *bū́kē, got lē bē*: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed!
Piž. 409, Muk. 100[31] *xúlkē*: sister!

[1] The *-y* in War. 230 *kuřī lālay* 'cousin!' (literally, 'maternal uncle's son', but addressed to a girl, perhaps for politeness) is unexplained.

[2] These Sg. endings also appear forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 262 (*a*)), e.g. Masc. *miʹa* 'Mustafa', *qāʹa* 'Qadir', *xuʹa* 'Mahmud', *řaʹa* 'Rashid', Fem. *fāʹa*, *fāʹē* 'Fatima', *pīʹza* 'Piroz', *xajē* 'Khadija'.

[3] Muk. generally *-ʹīna*.

Plural
Sul. — *žínīna*: women!
— *kúrīna* (Muk. 188[28] *kurína*): lads!
Bin. 326 *áy wazīrayna* [*sic*]: O viziers!
Muk. 97[28] *xizmína*: kinsmen!
150[29] *faqēná* [*sic*]: students! (*faqī*)

## Izafe

§ **182.** All Kd. dialects possess particles the functions of which are mainly analogous to those of the NP. *iẓāfa*. These particles will be called generally Izafe.

The Izafe has three main functions:

(i) to connect a noun with a determinant immediately following it, be it an attributive adjective, a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition (*v.* §§ 184, 185),

(ii) to connect certain adjectives and nouns to their complements (*v.* § 186),

(iii) to act as a relative pronoun with a definite antecedent (*v.* § 243 (*b*)).

§ **183.** (*a*) The Izafe has the following forms:

Sul., War., Arb., Xoš. *-ī*;[1]
Bin., Piž., Muk.[2]

general (following M. & F., Sg. & Pl. nouns) *-ī*; Sg. F. only *-ē*, e.g.

Muk. 30[4] *xātūnē nawjwāna*: fair young lady!
31[1] (MS.) *xuškē mīr zēndīnim*: I am Mir Zendin's sister

There is a tendency for the general form *-ī* to supplant the F. *-ē*, e.g.

Bin. — *bō mālē ma*: to our house (*māl* F.)
— *la mālī āšnāy ma*: in our friend's house

Very rarely the form *-ē* appears with a masculine noun, e.g.

Bin. 363 *nēwē xōšit*: thine own name (*nēw* M.)

Rdz. *-ī/-ē* without distinction of gender, e.g.

Rdz. — *bābī/ē min*: my father (*bāb* M.)
473 *nēčīrē xō*: (my) own prey (*nēčīr* F.)
474 *nēčīrī tū*: thy prey

[1] There is a trace of a former wider distribution of the F. Izafe form *-ē* in the following isolated, but regular, form:
Sul. 56 *pīrēžin*: old woman (but *pīramērd*: old man)

[2] Despite Muk. § 20, fn. 1.

(*b*) The general form *-ī* appears as *-y* following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 2 *kābrāy rīšspī*: the grey-bearded fellow
Bin. 327 *la xōšīy awa*: for joy of that (*v.* § 60)

The form *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Bin. 337 *tōlē bābī xōm*: revenge for my father (*tōla* F.)

In Muk. (Muk. § 20, end), Rdz. the Izafe may appear as *-(y)a* following a vowel, e.g.

Rdz. 478 *birāya xō*: (my) own brother
484 *kursī*(y)a *min*: my seat

(*c*) In Bin., Piž., Muk., with an antecedent formally singular but with plural sense, or with two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and', the Izafe form *-ī* may be followed by a particle *da*, thus *-ī da*,[1] e.g.

Bin. 314 *wazīrī* da *min*: my viziers
319 *pyāwī* da *pāšā* . . . *ćūn*: the king's men went
349 *dāk ū bābī* da *tō*: thy mother and father
Piž. 404 *la tirsī* da *S.*: from fear of S. (cf. § 239 (*a*))
411 *ǰarg ū sīy daw kuřaya*: that boy's liver and lights (*v.* § 236 (*c*) fn.)
Muk. 50[12] *ama γarībīn, lawānī* da *bēgāna*: we are strangers, of those who are foreign
63[15] *dan'kī* da *hanārē*: pomegranate seeds
63[21] *gulī* da *sosinē*: lily flowers
107[8] *gōšay* da *maydānē*: corners [*sic*] of the field
136[22] *la hartik čāwī* da *tū*: from both thy eyes

§ 184. (*a*) When a noun, defined or otherwise, is qualified by an attribute or by another noun (cf. § 182 (i)) these follow the noun qualified and are normally joined to it by the Izafe,[2] e.g.

[1] Cf. Ak., &c., *-ē(t)* < *-ē di*, § 264 (*a*).

[2] In War. the Izafe is occasionally omitted, even before an attribute, e.g.

War. 237 *dargāy māl( ) bēšin*: the door of the widow's house

This is perhaps influenced by the compound prepositions with *māl*, e.g.

War. 246 *čūyna māl ǰāfir bag*: we went to the house of J.
246 *la māl ḥāǰī . . būyn*: we were in the house of Haji

The majority of such cases are marked by the presence of the suffix *-ē(k)*, e.g.

War. 200 *la šonē( ) tir*: in another place
206 *ḥatā baynē( ) da . . . šaw*: for a period of some ten days

(i) Attribute,

Sul. 5 *kābrāyakī rīšspī*: a grey-bearded fellow
7 *māmay rīšspī*: the grey-bearded 'uncle'
69 *tūtikēkī pičkōla*: a little dog

(ii) Genitive noun or pronoun (*v.* § 180 (*a*)),

Sul. 43 *xānūy ēma*: our house
49 *sarī binīādam*: men's heads
55 *xizmakārī wulāxakat*: thy horse's servant
69 *mālī kičī islāmšāy parīān*: the house of the daughter of Islam Shah of the Peris
War. 188 *kāsibīy mālī xōmān*: the work of our own house
Bin. 318 *žinē malikšāy*: Malikshah's wife
Piž. 384 *čaqāndinē šitilakān*: the planting of the seedlings
394 *kafīlīē aḫmadī*: bail for Ahmed

(iii) Appositional noun,

Sul. 9 *tawqēkī āltūn*: a collar of gold
86 *hayāsī birāt*: thy brother Heyas
War. 188 *minālī rafīqim*: the children, my friends
199 *zalāmī sāḫēwī jūtakān*: men (who are) owners of a pair (of plough-oxen)

(*b*) A noun may be qualified by more than one attribute. In such a case each attribute may be connected to the foregoing by the Izafe or by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and', e.g.

Sul. — *kičēkī jwānī čwārda-sāl*: a beautiful, fourteen-year-old girl (i.e. 'sweet sixteen')
— *minālēkī pīs ū pōxil*: a filthy, dirty child
Bin. 306 *jēēkī kay wā*: such another place
354 *arsalānī je-gawray xānadān*: the noble, highborn Arselan

(*c*) A noun in partitive relation to another is not normally followed by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — *handē jār*: sometimes (a few times)
P *naxtē/kamē pāqla*: some, a few beans
29 *yak hagba pāra*: a bag of money
35 *tōzēk binēšt*: a little mastic
57 *yak mist āltūn*: a handful of gold

War. 230 *čil tanaka nawt*: forty (4-gallon) cans of paraffin
265 *čwār fawj 'aškar*: four battalions of soldiers
Bin. 303 *sê kūpa āltūn*: three crocks of gold
Muk. 97[13] *pārwēk nān ū čōrēk āw*: a morsel of bread and a sip of water

but, exceptionally,

Bin. 326 *čand 'adadêkī ḫaskar*: some soldiers

§ 185. (*a*) In Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. an alternative construction to that described in § 184 exists. A noun qualified by an attributive adjective or another noun may form an 'open' compound with the qualifier, which follows the qualified noun and is joined to it by a compound vowel *a*. After *ê*, *ø*, *a*, *ā*, *ô*, however, no compound vowel is realized (*v.* § 171 (*c*)).

Examples:

Sul. 25 *kuṙa pālā*: the king's son
42 *birā gawra*: eldest brother
56 *ǰūta swār*: a pair of riders
War. 190 *kuṙa muxtār*: the headman's son
204 *birā gawraka*: the elder brother
Muk. 24 *kāka mam*: Brother Mem
6[6] *nîwa laîî*: half of his body

(*b*) It is not possible to specify accurately all the conditions in which each construction may appear. In many cases either construction seems to be possible, e.g.

Sul. 2 *bāla gardānī sari* } the wing circling about thy head
13 *bālī gardānī sari* } (i.e. 'thy protector')

The open compound construction is essential when the *qualified noun phrase* is defined by either of the suffixes *-aká*, *-á*, e.g.

Sul. 13 *am naw'a ḫitānā*: these sorts of thing
25 *am hamū ḫtūmaka ǰwānā*: all this fine stuff
39 *aw xčwata sawzā*: that green tent
40 *xčwata sawzaka*: the green tent
181 *dāyk ū bāwka pīra faqīrakay*: his poor old mother and father
Piž. 390 *sara astūraka*: the thick end

Muk. $6^{15}$ *bēčūa wurčaka*: the wolf cub
$25^{13}$ *aw dinyā xōšá*: this pleasant world
Xoš. 461 *pišta wurāyaka*: the horse's back

The compound may also take the suffix *-ēk*, *-ak*, e.g.

Sul. E *čašna āwēnayak*: a kind of mirror
E *kilka karēk*: a donkey's tail
Muk. $174^{24}$ *gaza fāwēk*: an ell of cotton cloth

Without a suffix it may have an indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 44 *birā pičūk . . . būn*: the younger brothers became . . .

§186. Certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of compound verbs (*v.* § 234), are joined to their complement by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 7 *pīšānī ēmat dā*[1]: you showed (*pīšān dān*) us
23 *pēškašī kuřay bikay*: you prtsent (*pēškaš kirdin*) it to his son
66 *swārī řaxš bū*: he mounted (*swār būn*) his steed
67 *tūšī am darda*: afflicted (*tūš*) by this trouble
Piž. 396 *taslīmī . . . maḥmūdī kird*[1]: he surrendered (*taslīm kirdin*) him to Mahmud
Muk. $3^{25}$ *xarīkī bazmī dabūn*: they would be engaged (*xarīk būn*) in feasting

§ 187. In conjunction with the series of suffixes

A. *-aká*, B. *-án*, C. *ʿēk*, *ʿak*, D. *-á* (*v.* § 178),

the order of possible suffixation of

E. the case endings *-ī*, *-ē* (§ 180 (*b*)),
and F. the Izafe *-ī*, *-ē* (§ 183),

is, for all dialects, A B C D (*E*) *F*,

though B and E, and E and F, are mutually exclusive. Thus the possibilities of combination are

AE Bin. 303 *la bāxakaydā*: in the garden
AF Sul. E *bāxakay tā dīt*: the garden you saw
ABF Sul. E *šārakānī xōyān*: their own towns
BF Sul. — *pālawānānī kurd*: Kurdish champions
BDF Sul. — *aw šitānay tō dīt*: those things you saw

[1] Agential construction, *v.* § 223.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CE | Muk. | 3[20] | *qadirēkī*: for a while |
| CF | Sul. | 2 | *kābrāyakī ʔīspī*: a white-bearded fellow |
| DE | Piž. | 384 | aw *šaway*: that night |
| DF | Arb. | 414 | aw *xawnay . . . gēʔātawa*: that dream which you related |
| E | Bin. | 349 | *la pāpōrē*: in a steamboat |
| F | Bin. | 356 | *nēwī xōm*: my name |

### Demonstrative Izafe

§ 188. In all Kd. dialects an independent Demonstrative Izafe occurs, related in form to the enclitic Izafe but with different functions.

The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms (cf. § 183 (*a*)):

| | |
|---|---|
| Sul. | *hī* |
| War. | *hi(n)* |
| Muk., Arb., Xoš. | *ī* |
| Bin., Piž. | *ī*, (*ʔ ē*), *ī da* (cf. § 183 (*c*)) |
| Rdz. | *ī*/*ē* |

It may appear before:

(i) a noun or pronoun, to which it gives a possessive meaning, or
(ii) an adjective, giving it a definite, 'substantive' sense.

Examples: (i)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul. | — | hī *birāy min*: that of my brother, my brother's |
| | — | hī *kē*: whose? |
| | — | hī *ēma*: ours |
| War. | — | hīn *māṇā*: the cow's |
| | 199 | hī *bāwbāpīra gawramāna*: it is our ancestors' |
| | 200 | hi *kasēkī wakū F.*: that of someone like F. |
| Bin. | 333 | **tarbiatī swārīē w ī pālawānīē*: the learning of horsemanship and that of wrestling |
| | 379 | *dastī ʔā takānd, ī amīrīangī*: he jerked his hand, that of Amirsheng |
| Muk. | 242[29] | ī *xōm la ī tū pitira*: mine is bigger than thine |
| Rdz. | 501 | *mārē minīš . . . ē birāē minīš*: my house . . . my brother's too |

(ii)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul. | — | hī *gawra*: the big one |
| | — | hī *šīn*: the blue one |

Piž. — ī da *dīšin han*[1]: we have other ones too
Muk. 212[18] ī *gawra* . . . ī *čikōla*: the elder . . . the younger
Rdz. — ī *dī bīna*, ī *nū*: bring another, a new one

## ADJECTIVES

**§ 189.** Attributive adjectives, which like adjectives employed predicatively are uninflected in all dialects, normally follow the noun they qualify, either with the Izafe (§ 184) or in the open compound construction (§ 185).

Adjectives may be used, in their uninflected form, as adverbs, e.g.

Sul. — *bāyakī* tuŋ: a fierce wind
36 tuŋ *mačakī girt*: he seized his wrist firmly

With the appropriate inflexional endings, adjectives may act as substantives, e.g.

Sul. — *nāwī* gawra, *dē wērān*: a great name (but) a ruinous village
— gawra*m*: my master!
— gawray *'ēl*: the leader of the tribe

Conversely, a small number of nouns may be employed much as attributive adjectives, e.g.

Sul. — *kar*: donkey
— *pyāwēkī* kar: a stupid fellow

### Comparison

**§ 190.** (*a*) The morpheme *-tir* added to the simple adjective form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective, e.g.

attributively: Sul. — *lāxēkī barztir*: a higher mountain
predicatively: 30 *ama* . . . *ǰwāntira*: this one is more beautiful
adverbially: 47 *zūtir ačē*: goes quicker
substantively: 45 *la min ǰwāntir*: one more beautiful than me

The only irregularity in the formation of a comparative adjective attested is in Sor., Muk. § 32 *čātir* 'better', from *čāk* 'good'.

[1] A shibboleth phrase containing three particularly Pil. forms. See also §§ 197 (*-in*), 218 (*han*).

(*b*) The morpheme *-in* added to the comparative adjective forms the superlative adjective (*cf.* § 195 (*b*)). This, unlike the positive and comparative adjectives, immediately precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.

Sul. P *bō āzātirīn sarbāz*: for the bravest soldier

(*c*) *har*, combined with another adjective and the qualified noun in the open compound construction (§ 185), gives the adjective a superlative sense, e.g.

Sul. E *qisna hara ǰwānaka*: the finest tomb (*qisn*: 'dry stone wall')

### Certain adjectives

§ 191. (*a*) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify:

(i) the demonstrative adjectives (*v.* § 192),
(ii) cardinal numbers (*v.* § 194),
(iii) superlative (§ 190 (*b*)) and ordinal (*v.* § 195 (*b*)) adjectives in *-īn*,
(iv) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives (cf. §§ 176 (*c*), 177 (*a*)),

War. *bāzē* 'some' (Ar. *ba'ḍ*)
*čī* 'what(ever), whichever'
War. *čan*, Sul. *čan/ŋ*, Sor. & Muk. *čand* 'how(ever) much, some' (as an adverb 'how . . .')
*filān(a)*, Arb., &c., *firān* 'such and such'
*gišt* 'all'
Sul., War. *hīč*, Sor. & Muk. also *čī*[1] 'any'
*hamū*, Arb. also *hamī* 'all, each, every'
*har*, *harčī*, *harč*, *hač* 'any, whatever'
*kām* 'which(ever)'

but not

*ka*, *tir*, *dī(ka)*, *dika* 'other'
*wā*, *wahā*, *awhā*, *wa*, *awa* 'such'

*zōr*, War. *fira* 'many, much' may either precede or follow the noun qualified.

[1] Muk. *čī* 'any' is probably a mishearing of *čī*, e.g.
Muk. 4[14] *čī ǰēm nia*, but 3[36] *čī ǰēm nia*: 'I have no place'.

(*b*) Examples of interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

War. 209 bāzē *xalqān*: some people
Sul. 2 *ba* či *dardē giriftārī*: with what ill art thou troubled?
17 *la* či *ẖənēkā*: in whichever place
War. 208 čan *rīšspīyak*: some elders
Sul. 4 čaŋ . . ., 8 čan *muddatēk*: some time
Bin. 326 čand *'adadēkī ẖaskar*: some soldiers (cf. § 184 (*c*))
Sul. P čan *ṭaš bū*: how black it was!
Sul. 16 *la* filāna *mawqi'ā* } in such and such place
Bin. 303 *la* filān *ẖəndā* }
Sul. P gišt *mindālakān*: all the children
Sul. 58 hīč *kasēk nāwērē*: nobody dares
Bin. 362 či *yadrim* . . . *nakirdūwa*: I have not done any harm
Sul. 13 hamū *ẖtēk*: everything
Bin. 322 hamū *sālēk*: each year
War. 200 har *kasēk* } whoever
Sul. 11 hač *kasēk* }
Bin. 318 hać *mawqīẖēk*: wherever
Sul. P kām *astēray gaš*: which bright star

but,

Sul. — *ẖtī* wā *nīa*: there is no such thing
— *yakēkī* ka } another one
Arb. 426 *yakakī* dika }

Sul. — zōr *jār* } many times, often
War. — fira *jār* }

but,

Sul. P *pāray* zōr, *kalkī čīa*: what is the use of much money?

### Demonstrative adjectives

**§ 192.** (*a*) Sul., War. have two inflexible demonstrative adjectives, *am* 'this', *aw* 'that'. A noun, singular or plural, qualified by either of these is normally followed by the defining suffix *-ā* (§ 175).

All Sor. and Muk. have only one demonstrative adjective *aw* 'this, that'. The form *am* 'this' appears in Bin. as a loan from Sul., e.g.

Bin. 299 *ləm ūšānay*: from these works

(*b*) In Bin., Piž. the general demonstrative adjective *aw*, qualifying an oblique plural noun, may also take the ending *-ān*, in which case the noun does not take the suffix *-á*, e.g.

Piž. 399, Muk. 4[1] *law qisāná*: from these words (*qisa*)

but,

Bin. 378 *lawān qisāndā*: in these words
330 *bō awān swārān*: for those horsemen

In Piž., Muk. the general demonstrative adjective *aw*, when qualifying a feminine singular oblique noun, may take an oblique ending *-ē*,[1] in which case the noun also takes the oblique ending *-ē* (§ 180 (*b*)) and not the suffix *-á*, e.g.

Bin. 346 *'alqē* aw *kiçay*: in love with that girl

but,

Piž. — awē *kiçē wāy kird*[2]: that girl did thus
— *çū bō* aw *mālay* } went to that house
— *çū bō* awē *mālē* }
Muk. 99[18] *bawē birīnē*: from this wound
*pasim*, awē *šawē*: (on) that night

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by *aw*,

(i) takes the suffix *-á* only when it is 'proximate', i.e. indicates something physically near or which has already been referred to in narrative, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuŕa*: this boy
Rdz. 475 *sē birā lagarim haya*, aw *sē birāyāna*: there are three brothers with me, these three brothers . . .

(ii) takes the suffix *-ēhē*[3] when it indicates something physically remote, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuŕēbē*: that boy yonder

(iii) takes no suffix when it refers to something absent, e.g.

Arb. — aw *kuŕ*: that boy
435 aw *birāyānī min*: those brothers of mine

[1] The resulting *awē* is not, therefore, with Mann, Muk. § 38, the general oblique case form of the adjective but a specifically Feminine oblique.
[2] Cf. § 180 (*c*) (ii).
[3] Cf. Sur. *awêhê* § 277, there alone analysable as **awa+-ê+hê*.

## Numerals

### Cardinal

§ 193

| | Sul., War. | Bin., Piž. | Muk. § 48 | Rdz., Xoš. | Arb. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *yak* | *yak, ēk* | *yak, yēk* | *ēk* | *yak, ēk* |
| 2 | *dū, dūān, dwān* | —[1] | — | | — |
| 3 | *sē, syān* | — | *sē, sēān* | | — |
| 4 | *čwār* | — | *čūār* | | *čār* |
| 5 | *pēnj* | — | *p'ēnj* | | *pēnj* |
| 6 | *šaš* | — | — | | — |
| 7 | *ḫawt* (v. § 31) | — | — | | *ḫ/'aft* |
| 8 | *hašt* | — | — | | — |
| 9 | *nō* | — | — | | — |
| 10 | *da* | — | — | | — |
| 11 | *yāŋza* (§ 24 (*b*)) | *yāzda* | *yāz(d)a* | *yāzda* | — |
| 12 | *dw/ūāŋza* | *dwāzda* | *dūāzda* | | — |
| 13 | *syāŋza* | *sēzda* | — | | — |
| 14 | *čwārda* | — | *čūārda* | | *čārda* |
| 15 | *pāŋza* | *pāzda* | — | | — |
| 16 | *šāŋza* | *šāzda* | — | | — |
| 17 | *ḫavda* (§ 5) | — | *ḫawda* | | *ḫ/'avda* |
| 18 | *hažda* | — | — | | — |
| 19 | *nōzda* | — | — | | — |
| 20 | *bist* | — | — | | — |
| 21 | *bist ū yak* | — | — | | — |
| 30 | *sī* | | — | | — |
| 40 | *čil* | | — | | *čil* |
| 50 | *panjā* | | *p'ēnjā* | | *pa/ēnjā* |
| 60 | *šast* (§ 10 (*b*)) | | *šēst* | | — |
| 70 | *ḫaftā* | | *haftā* | *ḫaftā* | *ḫ/'aftē* |
| 80 | *haštā* | | *haštā/ē* | | *haštē* |
| 90 | *nawad* | | *nowat* | | *nōhat* |
| 100 | *sad* (§ 10 (*b*)) | | *sat* | | — |
| 200 | *dūsad* | | *dū sat* | | |
| 300 | *sēsad* | | | | |
| 400 | *čwārsad* | | | | |
| 500 | *pēnsad* | | *pēnsat* | | |
| 600 | *šašsad* | | | | |
| 700 | *ḫawsad* | | | | |
| 800 | *haštad* | | | | |
| 900 | *nōsad* | | | | |
| 1,000 | *hazār* | | | | |
| 1 m. | *milyōn* (§ 36) | | | | |

[1] — signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

§ 194. (*a*) Cardinals immediately precede the noun they qualify. In Sul., War. a noun so qualified normally does not take the ending *-ān* (§ 177 (*c*)), while in all Sor. and Muk. it normally does.

A cardinal, other than 'one', appearing independently may take the plural ending *-ān*, e.g.

War. 227 *syān bū, čwār bū*: (whether) it was three or four
237 *sālē, dūān*: a year or two
Muk. § 48 *čūārān, dūāzdān*: 4, 12

(*b*) With certain numbers (generally round numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take an ending *-ī*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',[1] e.g.

Bin. 311 *tamanī ḫawt ḫalt sālī*: the age of about seven or eight years
Xoš. 459 *ba qadar bīst wardyī*: to the extent of some twenty horses

(*c*) The repetition of the cardinal numbers, with or without the plural ending *-ān*, gives a distributive sense, e.g.

War. 197 *hamū* yaka yaka *w* dwān dwān *ū* čwār čwār *ačin*: they all go by ones and twos and fours

## Ordinal

§ 195. (*a*) Ordinal numbers are formed directly from the cardinals by the addition of the ending *-am*, e.g.

Sul. — *yak*am 'first', *pēnj*am 'fifth', *bīst*am 'twentieth'

Following *ē, a, ā, ō* an *h* is realized before the ending *-am*, e.g.

Sul. — *sē*ham (also *sē*yam) 'third'
*na*ham (also *na*yam), *nō*ham 'ninth'
*da*ham (also *da*yam) 'tenth', *yāŋza*ham 'eleventh'
*panjā*ham 'fiftieth'

These ordinals follow the qualified noun with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 47 *rēgāy sēham*: the third road

(*b*) The ordinal adjective in *-am* may further take the ending *-īn* (cf. § 190 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. — *yak*amīn 'first', *pēnj*amīn 'fifth'
also *awwal*amīn 'first' (Ar. *awwal*)

With cardinals ending in *a, ā* this ending normally takes the form *-mīn*, not **-hamīn*, e.g.

Sul. — *lāŋza*ham : *lāŋza*mīn 'sixteenth'
*ḫaftā*ham : *ḫaftā*mīn 'seventieth'

[1] Contrast the adverbial *-ī*, § 240 (*b*).

The ordinal adjective in *-(a)mīn* immediately precedes the noun it qualifies (*v.* § 191 (*a*) (iii)), e.g.

Sul. — *yakamīn jār*: the first time

In Rdz., corresponding to general *-amīn*, the form *-amē* occurs. This follows the noun qualified (cf. Ak., &c., *-ē*, § 274), e.g.

Rdz. 474 *jārī sēyamē*: the third time

## PRONOUNS

### Personal

#### Independent

**§ 196.** (*a*) Sul., War., all Sor., and Muk. present systems of six personal pronouns, each with an independent and a suffix form (*q.v.* § 197). All Sor. and Muk. have further independent oblique forms for all persons and, in Bin., Piž., one additional person. Thus:

| | Sul., War. | Bin., Piž. | Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Direct | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *min* | *amin* | *amin* |
| 2 | *tō* | *atō/ā* | *atō/ā*,(1) Arb. *atā* |
| 3 | *aw*(1) | (*h*)*aw* | *aw*(1) |
| Pl. 1 | (*h*)*ēma* | *ama* | *ama* |
| 2 | *ĕwa* | *awa* | *angō* |
| 3 | *awōn* | *awān* | *awān* |
| Oblique | | | |
| Sg. 1 | | (*a*)*min* | (*a*)*min*(1) |
| 2 | | (*a*)*tō/ā* | (*a*)*tō/ā*, Arb. (*a*)*tā* |
| 3 M. | | (*a*)*wī* | (*a*)*wī* |
| 3 F. | | (*a*)*wē*(4) | |
| Pl. 1 | | (*a*)*ma* | (*a*)*ma* |
| 2 | | (*a*)*wa* | (*a*)*ngō*(4) |
| 3 | | (*a*)*wān* | (*a*)*wān* |

NOTES:

(1) Mann consistently writes 2nd Sg. (*a*)*tū*. There is evidence within his texts, however, that this represents, in conformity with the Sor. dialects, (*a*)*tā*, e.g. the rhyme at Muk. 136[19] ff. *dāa* : *atua* : *ṭāa* : *tua*.

In all Sor., except Arb., and in Muk. *(a)tō* and *(a)tū* alternate freely, regardless of case, e.g.

Bin. 315 *ťaťay lagal* tō *bikā*: (who) might fight with thee
321 tō *lēy dagaťēy*: (whom) thou art seeking
325 atū *bō* . . . *hātťawa*: why hast thou returned?
325 *yabarim bō* tū *hēnāwatawa*: I have brought news for thee

Muk. $1^{23}$ atu *xalqī hoy*: of where art thou a native?
$6^{19}$ atūť . . . *dabam*: I shall take thee
$7^{2}$ atūť *wara*: come thou too!
$30^{7}$ *čāwī* tū [*sic*]: thine eyes

(2) The 3rd Sg. independent pronoun is identical in form with the remote demonstrative adjective *aw* (*v.* § 192 *(a)*). In Sul., War. the proximate demonstrative adjective form *am* may also appear as a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun. Both forms may also function as 3rd Pl. personal pronouns with the ending *-ān*, thus:

Sg. 3 *aw*, (*am*) 'he, she, it', Pl. 3 *awān*, (*amān*) 'they', e.g.
Sul. 31 aw *gāwira*: he is an infidel
9 awānīť, 76 amānīť: they too

(3) Mann, Muk. § 37. 'Für den Nominativ [3rd Sg. pers. pron.] tritt meist das Demonstrativum *ay* ein.' But *aw* is an adjectival form of the demonstrative, requiring the noun qualified to take a suffix *-ā* (*v.* § 192 *(a)*), while, as Mann rightly states Muk. § 38: 'Alleinstehend, substantivisch gebraucht, lautet das Pronomen [demons.] ursprünglich stets *awā*.' Thus *aw* here should be recognized as the direct case of an independent *personal* pronoun.

Muk. § 37, 3rd Sg. direct *awī* is perhaps best explained as an encroachment of the oblique form. Alternatively *-ī* may be an Izafe.

(4) The 3rd Sg. masculine oblique form *(a)wī* may replace the feminine oblique *(a)wē* even in Bin., Piž., e.g.

Bin. 344 *nīšānī wī biday wakū amin bō wī sūtāwim*: show her that I am burning for her

(5) The doubly oblique forms *aminī*, *atōī*, &c., quoted by Mann, Muk. §§ 33–35, appear unresl. All the examples quoted Muk. § 36 contain, as Mann's footnote admits, the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix *-ī* (q.v. § 197). But note

Xoš. 448 aminī *dakušin*: they will kill me

(6) *-ngō* may only occur enclitically.

(*b*) The independent personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (*v.* §§ 179 (*a*), 180 (*a*)).

In the oblique case the full forms, *amin*, &c., appear mainly in the functions of the Direct Object and (in Bin., Piž. only) of the Agent in the Agential construction. The short forms, *min*, &c., with the exception of *-ngō*, appear in all the functions of the oblique case.

Examples:

Bin. — awē *wāy kird*: she (Agent) did thus
325 *nawakū ta sar tōš bidā*, atōš *bikūžē*: lest he fall on thee too, kill thee too
Muk. 6[1] *darxwārdī* wī *dadā*: he would feed her
58[20] *dagaī* awī: with her
Xoš. 465 *dasgīrānī* wī *dētin*: her fiancé comes

(*c*) When an independent personal pronoun of the 1st or 2nd person appears as the Direct Affectee of the Agential construction (*v.* § 223), or as the complement of the substantive verb, then the verb does not agree with it in person but appears in the 3rd person singular, i.e. as if the pronoun were a noun,[1] e.g.

Sul. — min*it dītwa* = *dīwitim*[2]: thou hast seen me
— ēma*t dītwa* = *dīwitīn*[2]: thou hast seen us
20 minī *bō* ča: what am I to him?
35 *tōyān nārduwa*: they have sent thee
68 *ka* min*tān māra kird*: when you married me (off)

Similarly with the verb *wīstin* (*v.* § 220),

Sul. P *azānī min tōm čand xōš awēt*: thou knowest how much I love thee

The agreement of the verb is exceptional in

War. 214 ēma *ḥaftā w awana pālawānī kuštī*n: he has killed us seventy or so champions

[1] See also § 242 (*d*) and Muk. § 92.
[2] See § 228.

**Suffix**

**§ 197.** (*a*) The personal pronoun suffixes have the following forms:

| | General | Additional | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im* (*-m*)[1] | | |
| 2 | *-it* (*-t*)[2] | Sul., War. *-u* (*-w*) | |
| 3 | *-ī* (*-y*) | | |
| Pl. 1 | *-mān* | Piž., Muk., and | *-in* (*-n*)[3] |
| 2 | *-tān* | remaining Sor. | *-ū* (*-w*) |
| 3 | *-yān* | | |

NOTES:

(1) The forms in parenthesis appear after a vowel. When the suffix is followed by another enclitic the unstressed vowel of *-im*, *-it* is not normally realized (*v.* § 41 (*c*)). Regarding the realization of *-y* after *ī*, see § 60.

(2) See § 7 (*c*). In Sul., War. the 2nd Sg. form frequently appears as *-ṭ* in postvocalic, and reduced to *-i* in postconsonantal position.

Also in Sul., War. a 2nd Sg. form *-u* (*-w*) is occasionally heard (to be distinguished from the Piž., &c., 2nd *Pl.* form *-ū*, *-w*).[1] This may be no more than a phonetic variant of *-i* conditioned by the proximity of a back vowel or a bilabial consonant (*v.* § 55 (*b*)). The frequency of its occurrence with *kuštin* is noteworthy.

Examples:

Sul. — *dasu bišō*: wash thy hands!
13 *čāwu pē bikawē*: that thy eye may behold
51 *nāwkušim, alqayak akama got, aṭkam ba 'abdī xōm*: I shall not kill thee, I shall put a ring in thy ear, make thee my slave

War. 218 *pēṭ bizānē palpalit akā*: if he finds out about thee he will chop thee up
273 *bō nāwkušt*: why hast thou not killed it?
284 *awwā*: will take thee
290 *ḫakāyatī xōmu bō akam*: I shall tell thee my story

[1] The similar form *-o*, given for the *Sinaī* dialect in Mokri,

Songs 232 *haft peshto*: seven generations of thy forebears
247 *dino namāga*: thy faith has gone

may only be a representation of [i, i̯ə]. Cf. 323 *bowkār-* for *[baɔka:ɛ] *baḏkār*.

(3) The Piž., Muk., and, less commonly, Sor. forms Pl. 1 *-in*, Pl. 2 *-ū* alternate freely with the general forms *-mān*, *-tān*.

(*b*) The suffix personal pronouns may fulfil the functions of a pronoun:

(i) in genitive relation to a noun (*v.* § 200),
(ii) Direct Object of a transitive verb in the present tenses,
(iii) Agent of a transitive verb in the past tenses (*v.* § 225),
(iv) governed by a preposition (*v.* § 237),
(v) with dative sense (*v.* §§ 218 (*a*), 220 (*a*), 239 (*b*)).

Examples:

(i) Genitive relation,

Sul. P *la barīawa dā nīštuwin*: they are seated in front of him
1 *wajāxī kor abē*: he has no offspring (lit. 'his hearth is blind')
9 *aw āsikayān*: that gazelle of them
69 *la ǰyātī dāyktān*: instead of your mother
Piž. 393 *kayfī xōwa*: it is your own pleasure
Muk. 103[22] *sabrū bibē*: let patience be yours

(ii) Direct Object,

Sul. 10 *ḥayfa biykužin*: it is a pity, that we should kill it
10 *wāstī . . . biygirē*: he wanted to catch-it
20 *ḥaz akā ka bitbīnē*: he would like to see thee
Piž. 402 *datbam*: I shall take thee

(iii) Agent,

Sul. 2 *dastī birda bāxalī, sēwēkī dar hēnā, dāya das pālā*: he put his hand into his bosom, took out an apple, put it in the king's hand
Piž. 380 *mālin bār kirdin*: we loaded up (our) homes

(iv) Governed by a preposition,

Sul. 17 *bōy bēna*: bring . . . for him
Bin. 351 *lēt mumbārak bē*: may it be fortunate for thee
Muk. 1[16] *xōrit čāka dagal dakam*: I shall do much good for thee
63[22] *nanbē nētān*: let there not be between us . . .
167[12] *lēn*: against us

(v) Dative,

Sul. E *am pārayat čōn čiŋ kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?

P *wēnay čāw pē kawt*[1]: he caught sight of the picture

P *malāyān pīšān adā*: he points the mullah out to them

10 *hatā mumkinmān abē* (cf. 10 *hatā bōmān mumkīn bibē*): as far as it may be possible for us

101 *ḫaqī filī akawē*: the price of the clothes is due (falls) to him

§ **198.** The personal pronoun suffixes are affixed directly to a noun to which they stand in genitive relation (*v.* § 200). This is also true when the noun forms part of a compound preposition (*v.* § 238).

When fulfilling any of the other functions listed in § 197 (*b*) above, a pronominal suffix is affixed to whichever word of the following categories appears earliest in the clause:[2]

(i) an independent noun, pronoun or adjective which is either
  (α) the Direct Object, or Affectee (§ 223), or its complement, of a transitive verb,
  or, in certain circumstances, is
  (β) the Subject, or its complement, of an intransitive verb;
(ii) a noun or pronoun governed by a preposition, i.e. the Indirect Object, or Affectee, of a transitive verb;
(iii) an absolute prepositional form (*v.* § 237);
(iv) the verb, with the limitation that this can support only one such pronominal suffix. It is then suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components of a verbal form is present:
  (α) a preverb (*v.* § 235) or other word forming a compound verb (*v.* § 234),
  (β) a negative or modal affix (*v.* § 206),
  (γ) the verbal stem or participle, or an auxiliary (*v.* § 227).

[1] This construction often appears, deceptively, to have *čāw* 'eye' qualified by a possessive (genitive) suffix, e.g.

Sul 27 *čāwim pē akawē*: I shall see her

34 *ha . . . čāwyān bam nawjwāna kawt*: when they beheld this youth

but 20 *min bāŋ akā, čāwim pē bikawē*: he summons me that he may see *me*

[2] E. has a different exposition at *BSOAS*, XVII. 490 ff.

Examples:

(i. β) Sul. E *am pārayat ēōn čiy kawtuwa*: how has this money fallen into thy hands?

(i. β) Bin. 343 *kiklēkī zōr jwānī lē časp kirābū*: a very beautiful picture was stuck to it

[but, despite the presence of (i. β),

(iii) Sul. — *aw kuŕa zōr lēm nāčē*: that boy does not look much like me]

(i. α) — *ēwa ba pēy qānūn am zawlatān la ēma war nagirt*: you did not obtain this land from us legally

(ii) — *ba pēy qānūn la ēmatān war nagirt*
(iii) *lēmāntān war nagirt*
(iii) *lētān war nagirtīn*
} you did not obtain it from us legally

(iv. α) — *ba pēy qānūn wartān nagirt*: you did not obtain it legally

(iv. α) — *wartān nagirt* (*lēmān*): you did not obtain it (from us)

(iv. α) — *ŕām naakird*: I used not to run away

(iv. β) — *namakird*: I used not to do (so)

(iv. β) — *amkird*: I used to do (so)

(iv. γ) — *kirdim*: I did (so)

(iv. γ) — *kirdwoma*: I have done (so) (v. § 227)

A pronoun suffix may also be attached to certain adverbs, e.g. *zōr* 'much' in

Sul. P *zōrī ḫaz la qumār akird*: he was greatly addicted to gambling

Muk. 1[36] *zōrit čāka daqal dakam*: I shall do thee much good

§ 199. In conjunction with the affixes already listed (§§ 178, 187)

A. *-aká*, B. *-án*, C. *-ʿēk*, *-ʿak*, D. *-á*, E. *-ī*, *-ē* Obl.

the order of possible suffixation to a noun of

G. *-im*, *-it*, *-ī*, *-mān*, *-tān*, *-yān* in genitive relation to it,

and H. the same in any other function,

is, for Sul., all Sor. and Muk. A B C D (E) *G H*,
for War. also, A B C *G H* D.

E and H are mutually exclusive.

Examples: Sul., &c.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AG | Sul. | 3 | *māīn*akay: his mare |
| AGH | Sul. | 25 | *xuš*kakatānim *dāwa*: I have given your sister |
| ABG | ul. | 4 | *birā*kānim: my brothers! |
| ABH | ul. | 12 | *r̄afīq*akānim *ba jē hēštuwa*: I have left my friends behind |
| CGH | Sul. | 74 | *čāw*ēkitim *bidarē*: give me one of your eyes |
| CH | Sul. | 155 | *kič*ēkyān *nadāynē*: they did not give us a girl |
| DE | Bin. | — | aw *bar*day *bēna*: bring that stone |
| DH | Bin. | — | aw *bar*dam *bidaya*: give me that stone |
| DG | Sul. | 25 | am *čwār kur̄*ay: these four sons of his |
| EG | Bin. | — | *xuškī dākēm*: my mother's sister |
| G | Sul. | 27 | *čāw*im: my eye |
| H | Sul. | 74 | *pyālay āw*im *bidarē*: give me a glass of water |

*Wārmāwa*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AH | War. | — | *kalawar*akam *kirdō*: I opened the door |
| BGD | | 249 | am *gerēž*ānima: these donkeys of mine |
| GD | | 224 | am *kur̄*ima: this son of mine |
| [DH | | 214 | am *harakat*ay *kird*: he exerted this power] |
| HD | | 274 | am *palpita lē nagirtāyam*: would you had not got this pretext from me |
| GH | | 189 | *jūtī mālī xō*mānim *akird*: I used to do the ploughing for our own home |

Cf. *Sinaī*, in Mokri, Songs,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| GD | 232, 286 | *law dam*ʿta: from that mouth of thine |
| HD | Mann, MS. | am *xawarīa žinaft*: he heard this news |

This displacement of the suffix *-á*, partial only in War., is characteristic of the more southerly dialects. See further §§ 202 (*a*) fn. 1, 209 (*a*) fn.

§ 200. A noun qualified by a personal pronoun suffix in genitive relation to it may or may not be further defined by the suffix *-aká*, less commonly *-á* (§§ 174, 175).

(*a*) The defining suffix is generally present when a sense of actual possession or personal connexion is intended, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul. | 3 | *māīn*akay: his mare |
| | 14 | *qisa*kay: his words |
| | 42 | *kirās*akaṭ: thy shirt |

45 *gyānakam*: my soul, beloved
55 *wulāxakat*: thy horse
War. 219 *bārgīrakam*: my packhorse
Bin. — *nūsīnakam*: my writing
Muk. § 9 *jēgākan*: our home
*āyākatān*: your agha

Note the fixed phrase

Sul. 2 *ay pādāhām*: O my king

but

War. 209 *ay lāhim*: O my king

This category includes the following nouns of relationship: wife, son, daughter, brother and sister (particularly younger), e.g.

Sul. 4 *birākānim*: my brothers
19 *žinakay*: his wife
21 *kuṙakānī*: his sons
25 *xuškakatān*: your sister
War. 204 *birā gawrakam*: my elder brother
Muk. § 9 *kičakam*: my daughter

(*b*) The defining suffix is absent when no actual possession is intended, with parts of the body, with the remaining nouns of relationship and with all nouns of relationship used conventionally, e.g.

Sul. — *xulkim*: sister! (to any young woman)
12 *ṙāwim*: my quarry
16 *āmōzām*: my cousin!
21 *kuṙim*: my lads!
27 *dasgīrānim*: my fiancée
27 *čāwim*: my eye
28 *ṙōḥī šīrīnim*: my sweet soul, beloved
80 *qāčim*: my leg

Note *bāwkim* 'my father', but *bāwkim*, *bāwkakam* 'old fellow!'

## Reflexive

**§ 201.** The reflexive pronoun has the general form *xō* 'self'. Very rarely, with the suffix *-yān*, the form *xwa* appears (*v.* § 59 (*b*)).

Primarily the pronoun refers to the Subject of a sentence or clause, or to the Agent in the Agential construction. The pronoun

is generally further defined by a personal suffix, thus *xō-m* 'my-self', *xō-t* 'thy-self', &c., e.g.

Sul. 8 *kurī* xōm: my (own) son
69 *lagal* xōy: with him(self)
Arb. 446 *ba* xōyān *ćūnawa*: they themselves went back

It may then refer to any person in the sentence, e.g.

Sul. 11 *ba sar sarī* xōtā *bāzī dā*: it jumped over thy (own) head

## Demonstrative

§ 202. (*a*) The demonstrative pronouns combine the forms of the demonstrative adjectives (§ 192) and the defining suffix *-á* (§ 175),[1] which may here lose its stress. The plural forms incorporate the morpheme *-ān* (§ 177).

Sul., War. have then a system of two, remote and proximate, pronouns, while Bin., Piž., Muk. have one general demonstrative pronoun. In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. the same distinction is made as with the demonstrative adjective (§ 192 (*b*)), viz. *awa* 'this', *awēhē*[2] 'that yonder', *aw* 'that (absent)'. Only *awa* is considered here, *awēhē* being inflexible and *aw* identical with the 3rd personal pronoun of the same dialects (§ 196).

In Sor., Muk. the demonstrative *awa* may take the oblique ending *-ī* (*-y*) and is then frequently reduced to *way*, &c. Thus:

| | Sul., War. | Bin., Piž. | Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Direct | | | |
| this | *ama* | *awa* (*awha*, | *awa* |
| that | *awa* | *ahwa*, *ahō*) | |
| these | *amāna* | *awāna* | *awāna* |
| those | *awāna* | (*awhāna*, &c.) | |

[1] In War. the demonstrative pronoun may be disrupted by a personal pronoun suffix (§ 197), or the adverbial suffix *-īl* (v. § 240 (*c*)), appearing before the defining suffix *-á* (cf. § 199), e.g.

War. 190 *amam ahird*: I used to do this
but 267 *awīla*: that too
268 *awima awē*: that (is what) I want
280 *amita kird*: thou didst this

[2] Cf. Sur. *awēhē*, § 277.

| Oblique | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. | *away* (*awhay*, &c.) | *awa*, (*a*)*way* |
| Pl. | *awānay* (*awhānay*, &c.) | *awāna*, (*a*)*wānay* |

Examples:

Sul. 9 *áwayān*: that one of them
9 *awánay ka*: those others
62 amāna *hamāy*: all these
Bin. 347 awham *lāzima*: I need that
367 *l*ahway *čātir*: better than that
Muk. 8[30] *hāta* way *bimirē*: (he) came to this, that he would die

(*b*) There is some confusion in usage between the demonstrative pronouns and the 3rd personal pronouns (§ 196 (*a*)), e.g.

War. 194 *awīš*: *that* (*not* he) too (but cf. § 175 (*b*))
Arb. 414 *tikrārī lē* way *kirdawa*: he repeated it for *him*
426 *'umrī* wāna: *their* ages

## Interrogative

§ 203. (*a*) The following inflexible interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur:

Sul., War. *čī*, Sor., Muk. *čî* (*čī* only in pause and in *bo čī*, Arb., &c., *lō čī* 'why?'[1]) 'what?'
Sul., War., Bin., Piž. *čōn*, Muk. *čilōn*,[2] Arb. *kū* 'how?'
War. *čan*, Sul. *čan*[*y*], Sor. & Muk. *čand* 'how much, many?'
*kē*[3] (Muk. § 43 *k*[*i*]*ē*(*hā*)) 'who?'
Sul., War. *kay*, Piž., Muk. *kangē*, Arb. *kangī* 'when?'
*kām*(*a*) 'which?'

[1] Often reduced to *bōč*, *lōč*, and even *bō*, *lō* 'why?'
[2] The form *čū* appears in an isolated phrase with *zānin*, e.g.
Sul. 131 čū *zānin*: how should we know?
Muk. § 43 čū *adnim*: how should I know?
[3] Once in Bin. *kē* appears as a relative pronoun with an antecedent (cf. § 243),
Bin. 355 *atū kēt pē dalēn* . . .: thou whom they call . . .

Examples:

Bin. 321 *awa ba či cān*: what did you go for?
368 *atā dalēy čī*: what dost thou say?
Muk. 4[5] *či dakay*: what art thou doing?
24[25] *čiya (čīa)*: what is it?
Sul. — *ama ba čaṇa*: how much is this?
— *kē awa*: who (is) that (at the door)?
P *jēgāy xālid kāmaya*: which is Khalid's place?

(*b*) The following forms contain the sense of a verb:

Sul. *kwā, kāmatā*, Muk. *kwānē*, Arb. *kānī* 'where is, are?'

For example:

Sul. 117 kāmatā *hanārakāntān*: where are your pomegranates?
Muk. 21[1] kwānē *swārī da nāzanīn*: where are the splendid riders?
Arb. 431 kānī *birātān:* where is your brother?

Sul. *kə* 'where?' requires a limiting preposition, thus:

Sul. *la kə* 'where?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēndarē* (*v.* § 278 (*b*))
*bō kə* 'whither?', cf. Arb., &c., *kēwa*

For example:

Sul. — *wāy* la kə? *wām lēra*: where art thou? Here I am

## VERBS

**§ 204.** The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed regularly from the present and past stems (*v.* § 205) respectively. The present tense rarely appears in its simple form and then with subjunctive force (cf. compound verbs, § 234).

The two simple tenses are modified by modal affixes (*v.* § 206) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (*v.* § 213) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the sole auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full system is summarized at § 217.

## Stems

**§ 205.** (*a*) The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, which invariably ends in *-n*. The removal of the final consonant *-n*, and when it is preceded by the vowel *-i-* of this also, yields the past stem, which is thus regularly predictable from the form of the infinitive, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *čûn* 'go' | : | *čû-* |
| *hâtin* 'come' | : | *hât-* |
| *kirdin* 'do' | : | *kird-*, &c. |

The infinitive is, therefore, marked by a morpheme *-(i)n*.

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in *-ī*, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in *-ā*, then the form of the present stem is that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *fiřī-*[1] | : *fiř-* | 'fly' |
| | *larzī-* | : *larz-* | 'tremble' |
| | *pižmī-* | : *pižm-* | 'sneeze' |
| Transitive | *biřī-* | : *biř-* | 'cut' |
| | *kirī-* | : *kir-* | 'buy' |
| | *mālī-* | : *māl-* | 'sweep' |
| | *pirsī-* | : *pirs-* | 'ask' |
| | *hênā-* | : *(h)ên-* | 'bring' |
| | *kêlā-* | : *kêl-* | 'plough' |
| | *pêčā-* | : *pêč-* | 'fold' |

(ii) When the past stem ends in *-ā* and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, then the present stem normally ends in *-ê*, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *āwsā-* | : *āwsê-* | 'swell' |
| | *biržā-* | : *biržê-* | 'roast' |
| | *diřā-* | : *diřê-* | 'tear' |
| | *tikā-* | : *tikê-* | 'drip' |

[1] All forms are SuL unless otherwise stated.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (but note, | *s(t)ā-* | : *s(t)-* | 'rise' |
| | *tirsā-* | : *tirs-*, Muk. *tirsē-* | 'be afraid' |
| | *žiā-* | : *žī-* | 'live') |
| Transitive | *gā-* | : *gē-* | 'copulate with' |
| | *nā-* | : *nē-* | 'put' |

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ū* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transitive | *dirū-* | : *dirū-* | 'sew' |
| | *farmū-* | : *farmū-* | 'order' |
| | *gurū-* | : *gurū-* | 'flay' |
| | *jū-* | : *jū-* | 'chew' |
| (but note, | | | |
| Intransitive | *bū-* | : *b-* | 'be' |
| | *čū-* | : *č-* | 'go') |

(iv) When the past stem ends in *-t*, *-d* then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *būrd-* | : *būr-* | 'pass' |
| | *bizūt-* | : *bizū-* | 'move' |
| | *gilōft-* | : *gilōf-* | 'rub' |
| | *kawt-* | : *kaw-* | 'fall' |
| | *mird-* | : *mir-* | 'die' |
| Transitive | *girt-* | : *gir-* | 'hold' |
| | *xend-* | : *xən-* | 'study' |
| (but note, | *bast-* | : *bast-* | 'tie' |
| | *bist-* | : *būst-*, Muk. *byē-* | 'hear' |
| | *past-* | : *past-* | 'tread') |

(v) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is *-ā-* then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is normally *-ē-*, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transitive | *bwārd-* | : *bwēr-* > *bər-* | 'pass' |
| | *bižārd-* | : *bižēr-* | 'pick' |
| | *(ha)nārd-* | : *nēr-* | 'send' |
| | *pālāwt-* | : *pālēw-* | 'strain' |
| | *sūtān(d)-* | : *sūtēn-* | 'burn' |

(vi) When the past stem ends in *-št*, *-št*, the present stem frequently ends in *-x*, *-ž* respectively, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transitive | *gast-* | : *gaz-* | 'bite' |
| | *gwāst-* | : *gəz-* | 'remove' |
| | *pārāst-* | : *pārēz-* | 'protect' |
| | *xwāst-* | : *xwāz-* | 'demand' |
| | *čēlt-* | : *čēž-* | 'taste' |
| | *kult-* | : *kuž-* | 'kill' |
| | *nālt-* | : *nēž-* | 'bury' |
| (but note, | *firō(š)t-* | : *firōš-* | 'sell', and |
| Intransitive | *nīlt-* | : *nīš-* | 'sit') |

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix I. The more common 'irregular' verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

(*b*) Certain verbs are compounded with preverbs (*v.* § 235), which then occur with every form of the verb. In one case the 'preverb' is in fact an enclitic, *-awa*. This does not, however, affect either verbal stem as it is invarisbly added after the personal ending of the verb (*v.* §§ 207 ff.).

## Affixes

### § 206. (*a*) Modal affixes

Sul., War. *a-*,[1] Sor., Muk. *da-*, Rdz. *a-*/*da-*, prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,
the simple past give the (Past) Imperfect.

[1] In War. a modal affix *t-* occurs with two verbal stems only, forming the Present Indicative, viz.

War. — *tēm*/*tiém*, &c.: I, &c., come
— *tērim*, &c.: I, &c., bring

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cf. Kirmānšāhī* | (Mokri, Songs, 33) | *tiyam* | |
| | (Mann, MS.) | *tiᵛēm* | |
| *Sinaī* | (Mokri, Songs, 231) | | *tērim* |
| | (Mann, MS.) | *tēm* | *tērim* |

The form at War. 196 *adērin* 'we bring', appears to be a compromise between *tērin* and an artificial **a-ērin*.

The present forms of this verb *hāwirdin* are exceptional in that a personal pronoun suffix is attached not to either affix *t-* or *b(i)-* (o. § 198 (iv. *β*)) but after the personal ending, e.g.

War. — *tērimī*: I am bringing it
— *bērinī*: bring ye it!
294 *dse bērētī*: the water should bring him

*Cf. Sinaī* (Mann, MS.) *tērēšaw*: he brings it back.
But note, influenced by Sul. *ay(h)ēnim*,

War. — *aytērim*: I am bringing it

*b(i)-*, in all dialects (but *v.* § 234), prefixed to:

the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive,
the past, with the suffix *-āya*, gives the Past Conditional.

*b(i)-* may also be prefixed to the Imperative, and (in Bin., Piž., Muk.) to the Perfect Conditional and its derivatives (*v.* § 216).

The vowel of the prefixes *a-*, *da-* is not realized before *present* stems with an initial vowel *ē-*, except where this occurs through the loss of an *h-*, e.g.

Sul. — *ēm*, Bin. — *dēm*: I come (*ē-*)
— *ēlē*, Bin. — *dēlē*: it hurts (*ēl-*)

but, 187 *aēnē*: he brings ((*h*)*ēn-*)

War. — *ēžim*: I say (*ēž-*)
Muk. § 53 *dēlim*: I leave (*ēl-*)

but, *daʾēnim*: I bring ((*h*)*ēn-*)

It is realized before the initial stem vowel *ā-*, e.g.

Sul. — *xarika aāwsē*: it is swelling (*āwsē-*)
Arb. — *tēk daārēn*: they will become embroiled (*ārē-*)

and before *past* stems with initial *ē-*, e.g.

Sul. 180 *sarim aēlā*: my head was aching

When a personal pronoun suffix is present the vowel of *a-*, *da-* is always realized, whatever the stem, e.g.

Sul. — *a-y-ēlim*: I shall leave it (*ēl-*)

The vowel of *b(i)-* is not realized before any initial stem vowel, thus

Sul. — *bēm*: should I come? (*ē-*)
War. — *bēžim*: should I say? (*ēž-*)

### (*b*) Negative affixes

*nā-*, prefixed to the simple present,[1] gives the negative of the Present Indicative.

*nā-*, prefixed to all other tense forms (replacing the positive

[1] When, as rarely, the negative is separated from the verb then this takes the positive affix *a-*, e.g.

Sul. P *agirim bōt bō ēstā* na: I am not weeping for thee for now (i.e. for thy present state)

affix *b(i)-* of Subjunctive and Conditional tenses), gives the negative of these tenses.

*má-*, prefixed to the Imperative (replacing the affix *b(i)-* where present in the positive), negates it.

## Personal Endings

**§ 207.** Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 196) in that the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural are identical in form.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending for the 2nd person singular.

## Present Tenses

**§ 208.** (*a*) The Present tense is formed from the present stem with the prefixes *a-*, *da-* (Indicative), or *b(i)-* (Subjunctive), negative *nd-*, *ná-* respectively, and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as given below. In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modification. Thus the *i* of the 1st Sg. and 2nd, 3rd Pl. endings does not appear after a stem final vowel, while the *i* of the 2nd Sg. and 1st Pl. endings is normally realized as *y* in the same context. The other modifications, particularly of the 3rd Sg., are not simply analysable and are best given in detail (*v.* (*b*) below).

PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS:

| | Sul., War. | Bin., Piž., Muk. | Arb., Rdz., Xoš. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im*(1) | *-im* | *-im* |
| 2 | *-i(t)*(2) | *-i* | *-i* |
| 3 | *-ē(t)* | *-ē(t)*/*-ī(t)*(2) | *-i(tin)*, *-it-*(2) |
| Pl. 1 | *-in* | *-in* | *-in* |
| 2, 3 | *-in*(1) | *-in* | *-in* |

NOTES:

(1) Before an enclitic the (unstressed) vowel of *-im*, *-in* is often not realized (*v.* § 41 (*c*)).

(2) Regarding the bracketed forms see (*c*) below.

(3) The alternative form *-ā(t)* (cf. Arb., &c., *-ī*) is heard but rarely in Bin., Pīž.

(4) The form *-it-* occurs before the vowel of an enclitic.

(*b*) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel, e.g. *b-*, &c., 'be'

| | Sul. | War. | Bin., &c. | Arb., &c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *abím* | *awím* | *dabím* | *dabím* |
| 2 | *abī(t)* | *awī(t)* | *dabī* | *dabī* |
| 3 | *abē(t)* | *awē(t)* | *dabē(t)* | *dabī(tin)*, *dabit-* |
| Pl. 1 | *abín* | *awín* | *dabín* | *dabín* |
| 2, 3 | *abin* | *awin* | *dabin* | *dabin* |

Note the corresponding Present Subjunctive in

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | (*bí*)*bim* | *bíwim* [bu:m] (*v.* §§ 73, 75) | |
| 2 | (*bi*)*bī(t)* | *biwī(t)* [bu:i(t), by:i(t), by:(t)] | |
| 3 | (*bi*)*bē(t)* | *biwē(t)* [bu:e:(t), by:e:(t)] | |
| Pl. 1 | (*bí*)*bin* | *bíwin* [bu:in, by:in, by:n] | |
| 2, 3 | (*bi*)*bin* | *biwin* [bu:n] | |

(ii) *-ê-*, e.g. *-lê-*, &c., 'say'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *alêm* | *dalêm* | *darêm* |
| 2 | *alēy(t)* | *dalēy* | *darēy* |
| 3 | *alē(t)* | *dalē(t)* | *darē(tin)*, *darēt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *alēyn* | *dalēyn* | *darēyn* |
| 2, 3 | *alēn* | *dalēn* | *darēn* |

(iii) *-û-*, e.g. *mû-* 'sleep'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *anûm* | *danûm* | *danûm* |
| 2 | *anūy(t)* | *danūy* | *danūy* |
| 3 | *anwē(t)*, *ano(t)* | *danwē(t)* | *danwī(tin)*, *danwīt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *anūyn* | *danūyn* | *danūyn* |
| 2, 3 | *anūn* | *danūn* | *danūn* |

(iv) *-a-*, e.g. *ka-* 'do'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *akám* | *dakám* | *dakám* |
| 2 | *akay(t)* | *dakay* | *dakay* |
| 3 | *akā(t)* | *dakā(t)* | *dakā(tin)*, *dakāt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *akayn* | *dakayn* | *dakayn* |
| 2, 3 | *akan* | *dakan* | *dakan* |

(v) *-ŏ-*, e.g. *xŏ-* 'eat'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *axóm* | *daxóm* | *daxŏm* |
| 2 | *axŏy(t)* | *daxŏy* | *daxŏy* |
| 3 | *axwā(t)* | *daxwā(t)* | *daxwā(tin)*, *daxwāt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *axŏyn* | *daxŏyn* | *daxŏyn* |
| 2, 3 | *axŏn* | *daxŏn* | *daxŏn* |

(vi) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Sor., Muk. *rī-* 'defecate'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *agirím* | *darím* | *darím* |
| 2 | *agirī(t)* | *darī* | *darī* |
| 3 | | *darī(t)* | *darī(tin)*, *darīt-* |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *agirīn* | *darīn* | *darīn* |

(vii) *-ya-*, e.g. War. *gaya-* 'reach', Muk. **girya-* 'weep'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *agayám* | *dagiryám* (Sor. *dagiryēm*, &c., |
| 2 | *agáy(t)* | *dagirí* regular stem in *-ē-*) |
| 3 | *agayé(t)* | *dagiryé(t)* |
| Pl. 1 | *agáyn* | *dagirydyn* |
| 2, 3 | *agayán* | *dagiryán* |

(*c*) The euphonic (*t*) (v. § 7 (*b*)) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg. forms is always realized when the tense form is immediately followed by the vowel of an enclitic,[1] and may be so in pause. It is seldom realized before another consonant, however.

Examples:

Sul. 28 *amdŏzītawa*: thou wilt find me
62 *abayta dar*: thou carriest out

[contrast

Bin. 344 *bikay-awa*: if thou makest . . .
350 *dacī-awa*: thou wilt go back
Muk. $9^{23}$ *agar bimday-ē*: if thou givest it to me]

Piž. 399 *hatā S. bimēnīt*: while S. remains (alive)
Muk. $14^{25}$ *bēt la tourmī*: comes from Urmiye
Xoš. 460 *bō yazāy bicīt*: he should go to war

In Arb., &c., the 3rd Sg. *-tin* is an optional form, occurring most commonly in pause.

[1] Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' *-awa* (v. § 235 (*a*)) or the preposition *-a*, *-ē* (v. §§ 236 (*d*), 237 (*b*)).

## Substantive Verb

**§ 209.** (*a*) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 208 (*b*) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense:

| | Sul., War.[1] | Bin., Piž., Muk. | Arb., Rdz., Xoš. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im*/*-m* | *-im*/*-m* | *-im*/*-ma* |
| 2 | *-ī*(*t*)/*-y*(*t*) | *-ī*/*-y* | *-ī*/*-y* |
| 3 Sul. | *-a*(*t*)/*-*(*y*)*a*(*t*) | *-a*(*t*)/*-*(*y*)*a*(*t*) | *-a*/*-*(*y*)*a*, *-t-* |
| War. | *-a*(*s*)/*-*(*y*)*a*(*s*) | | |
| Pl. 1 | *-în*/*-yn* | *-în*/*-yn* | *-în*/*-yna* |
| 2, 3 | *-in*/*-n* | *-in*/*-n* | *-in*/*-na* |

where the second forms in each case appear following a vowel. In Arb., &c., the second forms of the 1st Sg. and 2nd and 3rd Pl. (*-ma*, *-na*) also follow a diphthong. The *-(y)-* of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except *ī*, *ū*.

Examples: (*v.* also § 214):

Sul. 2 *min pālā*-m: I am a king
73 *ḥāzir*-im: I am ready
— *wā-y la ko:* where art thou?
107 *īši čī*-a: what is thy business?
167 *āltūnī tyā*-ya: there is gold in it
181 *ba xwā kar*-in *ēwa:* by God, you are asses
War. 292 *xarīk*-I *amkuštī*: art thou about to kill me?
Muk. 97[13] *hamū pālawān ū ba-nāw*-în: we are all champions and famous
Arb. 435 *mindār*-im, *sabī*-ma: I am a child, a boy
442 *gurg*-a, *dēw*-a, *ć*-ya: is it wolf, demon, or what?
436 *la tū*-na: they are from thee
Rdz. 474 *amin*-im, *amin nēčīrī tū*-ma: I am (she), I am thy quarry
489 *pyāw*-ma: I am a man
475 *kurī kisrāy*-na: they are the sons of Chosroes

[1] In War. the enclitic verb precedes the defining suffix *-d* (cf. § 199), e.g.
War. 281 *'āidī aw 'arab*-im-*d*: I belong to that Arab
(cf. Sul. — *'āidī aw 'arabd*-m)

(*b*) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

| | | Sul., War | Bin., &c. | Arb., &c. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | | *nīm* | *nīm* | *nīma* |
| 2 | | *nī(t)* < **nīy(t)* | *nī* < **nīy* | *nī* < **nīy* |
| 3 | Sul. | *nīa(t)* | *nīa(t)* | *nīa, nīt-* |
| | War. | *nīa(s)* | | |
| Pl. 1 | | *nīn* < **nīyn* | *nīn* < **nīyn* | *nīna* < **nīyna* |
| 2, 3 | | *nīn* | *nīn* | *nīna* |

(*c*) The euphonic (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3rd Sg., and the (*s*) of the 3rd Sg. (War.) is always realized when the verb is immediately followed by the vowel of another enclitic (*v.* § 208 (*c*) fn.). In general only the (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. (Sul., War.) may be realized in pause or before a consonant (but *v.* § 214 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 38 *tō čīyt hātuwīta šaŕawa*: what art thou that thou hast come to do battle?
59 *agar šēt nīt, ēm*: if thou art not mad I shall come

## Imperative

§ **210.** (*a*) The Imperative is formed from the present stem, and normally the prefix *b(i)-* (negative *má-*), with the following endings:

Sg. 2 *-a*, Pl. 2 *-in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,
-Ø *-n*, „ „ vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant or semi-vowel,

Sul. — *bēna*: bring! ((*h*)*ēn-*)
5 *bičin*: go ye! (*č-*)
77 *bikawa*: fall! (*kaw-*)
War. — *biyğirin*: bold ye it! (*gir-*)
Arb. — *bīna*: bring! ((*h*)*īn-*)

(ii) *-ē-*,

Sul. — *bilē*[1]: say! (*-lē-*)
47 *bilēn*: say ye!

[1] Mann, Muk. § 69, has *bélā* 'say!' but his informant wrote regularly بلے Cf., however, the variation in

War. 285 *dām* na } put me down! (*nē-*)
294 *dām* nē }
Bin. 318 *magirya*: do not weep! (*giryē-*)

(iii) *-ū-*,

Sul. 97 *binū*: go to sleep! (*nū-*)
— *bifarmūn*: be ye so good! (*farmū-*)

(iv) *-a-*,

Sul. — *maka*: do not! (*ka-*)
42 *ba* < *bida*: give! (*da-*)
War. 221 *biywan*: take him! (*ba-*)
Arb. 415 *mayban*: do not take him!

(v) *-ō-*,

Sul. — *biṙō*: go! (*ṙō-*)
— *biyxōn*: eat ye it! (*xō-*)

(vi) *-ī-*,

Sul. — *magirī*: do not weep! (*girī-*)

(*b*) In Sul., War. only, when the Imperative is followed by the vowel of an enclitic, an euphonic *-r-* is realized after the 2nd Sg. form, e.g.

(i) consonant stem,

Sul. — *biygōṙarawa*: exchange it! (*gōṙ-*)

but

Bin. — *biyxena-wa*: read it! (*xon-*)

(ii) *-ē-* stem,

Sul. — *biylērawa*: repeat it! (*-lē-*)
War. 297 *bēra lāy xōm*: come to my side (*ē-*)

but

Bin. — *biylē-wa*: repeat it! *-(lē)-*

(iii) *-a-* stem,

Sul. 58 *bimdarē*: give it to me! (*da-*)
12 *rāwim bidarawa*: give back my quarry!
War. — *biykarō*: open it! (*ka-*)

but

Bin. — *-im bidaya* < *bida-ē*: give me . . .! (*da-*)
Arb. — *biyka-wa*: open it! (*ka-*)

(*c*) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sul. 78 *bičō*: go!
Bin. 373 *bičān*: go ye!
[Sul. — *bičin*: go ye! (*č-*) is regular]
Sul., Muk. — *wara, warin*: come! come ye!
Rdz. — *mē*: do not come!
[War. — *bē, bēn*: come! come ye! (*ē-*)
Sul. — *maya* < **maē*: do not come!, are regular]
Bin., Muk. § 69 *haṙō*: go!

Note the varying irregular position of the personal pronoun suffix (*v.* § 198 (iv. *β*)) in the following War. Imperative forms:

War. — *bērin-ī*: bring ye it! (*v.* § 206 (*a*) fn.)
— *bēr-I-a*[1]: bring it!
— *bēž-I*[1]: say it! (*žž-*)

but

— *bi-y-ēžarō*: repeat it!

## Past Tenses

§ 211. (*a*) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially:

Past Personal Endings:

| | Sul., War. | Sor., Muk. |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im* | *-im* |
| 2 | *-ī(t)* | *-ī* |
| 3 | *-Ø* | *-Ø* |
| Pl. 1 | *-īn* | *-īn* |
| 2, 3 | *-in* | *-in* |

They differ from the present endings only in the 3rd Sg. (cf. § 208 (*a*)).

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

| | Sul., War. | Sor., Muk. |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *hātim* | *hātim* |
| 2 | *hātī(t)* | *hātī* |
| 3 | *hāt* (*v.* § 66) | *hāt* |
| Pl. 1 | *hātīn* | *hātīn* |
| 2, 3 | *hātin* | *hātin* |

[1] Cf. order *-i-a*, § 199, loss of *-a*, § 175 (*b*).

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

| | Sul. | War. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *būm* | *wim* | *būm* |
| 2 | *būy(t)* | *wī(t)* | *būy* |
| 3 | *bū* | *ū, -w* | *bū* |
| Pl. 1 | *būyn* | *wīn* | *būyn* |
| 2, 3 | *būn* | *win* | *būn* |

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *mām* | *mām* |
| 2 | *māy(t)* | *māy* |
| 3 | *mā* | *mā* |
| Pl. 1 | *māyn* | *māyn* |
| 2, 3 | *mān* | *mān* |

(iv) *-i-*, e.g. *gai-* 'reach'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *gaim* | *gaim* |
| 2 | *gait(t)* | *gait* |
| 3 | *gait* | |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *gaitn* | *gaitn* |

(*c*) In Sul., War. the (*t*) of the 2nd Sg. is always realized when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic,[1] e.g.

Sul. 15 *gaṙāytawa*: thou returnedst
(cf. Sor. — *gaṙāyawa*)

In Sul., Bin. when a 3rd Sg. past form ending in *-ā* ((*b*) (iii) above) is followed by the vowel of an enclitic an euphonic *-y-* is realized between the vowels,[2] e.g.

Sul. 2, Bin. 304 *gaṙāyawa*: he returned
(cf. Muk. 2[10] *gaṙāwa*)
Bin. 321 *nadītrāyawa*: (she) could not be found

§ 212. (*a*) The Imperfect tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix *a-*, *da-* (§ 206), thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., *ahātim, ahātī(t), ahāt, ahātīn, ahātin*
Sor., &c., *dahātim, dahātī, dahāt, dahātīn, dahātin*, &c.

[1] Mainly the enclitic 'preverb' *-awa* (v. § 235 (*a*)), the preposition *-a*, *-ā* (v. §§ 236 (*d*), 237 (*b*)) or the conditional suffix *-āya* (v. § 212).

[2] The form War. 217 *gaṙāyaš* seems to be a compromise between Sul. *aṙāyawa* and War. *·gaṙāš*.

(*b*) The Past Conditional tense[1] is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix *b(i)-* and the suffix *-āya*. This latter follows the personal endings in all dialects, but in War. may also precede them in certain instances, thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *bihātimāya* | or, War., | *bihātāyam* |
| 2 | *bihātītāya*, Sor., &c., *bihātīāya* | | *bihātāyay* |
| 3 | *bihātāya*[2] | | |
| Pl. 1 | *bihātīnāya* | but not | **bihātāyayn* |
| 2, 3 | *bihātināya* | | **bihātāyan* |

§ **213.** A Past Participle, which beside its normal function in the formation of the Perfect tense may serve as an adjective, is formed from the past stem. To the stem are added the following morphemes:

Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. **-ū́*, *ʿw*; War. *-(i)ǧ* (*v.* § 76);[3] Arb., Rdz., Xoš. *-ī́*, *ʿy*.

The behaviour of Sul., &c., **-ū* before an enclitic substantive verb is abnormal. In those cases where a distinction is observable the enclitic verb appears in its postconsonantal form, thus [-ˈu:ʊm, -ˈu:i:], &c., rather than *[-u:m, -u̱:j].[4] A personal pronoun suffix, or the adverbial suffix *-īš* (*v.* § 240 (*c*)), however, appears in its postvocalic form following the past participle. A convenient compromise is to interpret such an [-u:] as *-uw* (*v.* § 60) throughout the conjugation. Thus, e.g.

Sul., &c., *hātúw*, *būw* (*v.* § 60), *māw*, *gaīw*
War. *hātíǧ*, *čūǧ* (N.B. *wiǧ*: Sul. *būw*), *māǧ*, *gaīǧ*
Arb., &c., *hātī́*, *būy*, *māy*, *gaī* (< **gaīy*)

[1] Mann, Muk. § 72, has 'Optat.: *bū́māya* . . .; 3. sing. *bū́yāya*', but, § 83, 'In der Bedeutung eines Optativus perf. . . . *béhātināya* . . .'.

[2] The 3rd Sg. Past Conditional of the verb *būn* 'be' appears in various irregular forms, viz. Sul., Bin. (*bi*)*bwāya*, Muk. *būyāya*, Piž., Sor. *bāya*, War. *wāya*.

[3] Cf. *Sinai* (Barr, op. cit., p. 224) *-(i)g*.

[4] Note, in corroboration, the metre of the following lines by *Šēx Razā Tālabānī*, viz. – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ – – / – ⏑ –:

*maslaḥat wāya hatā nayxwārduwin biynēr-mawa*: It is best that I send it back before it eats me!

*min azānim kē la xiltoy birduwī, ammā či sūd*: I know who has led thee astray, but to what advantage?

## Compound Tenses

**§ 214.** (*a*) The Perfect Indicative tense is formed of the Past Participle and the enclitic (Present) form of the substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)) as auxiliary. Thus, when the past *stem* ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

| | Sul., &c. | War. | Arb., &c. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *hātúwim* | *hātíǧim* | *hātíma* |
| 2 | *hātúwī(t)* | *hātíǧī(t)* (§ 76) | *hātí* (< **hātī-y*)[1] |
| 3 | *hātúwa*, *hātōt-* (§ 59 (*b*)) | *hātíǧa(s)* | *hātíya*, *hātít-* |
| Pl. 1 | *hātúwīn* | *hātíǧīn* | *hātína* (< **hātī-yna*) |
| 2, 3 | *hātúwin* | *hātíǧin* | *hātína* |

(ii) *-ū-*, e.g. *bū-*, &c., 'be'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *búwim* | *búǧim/wúǧim* | *búyma* |
| 2 | *búwī(t)* | **búǧī(t)/wúǧī(t)* | *búy* (< **būy-ī*) |
| 3 | *búwa*, *bōt-* | *búǧa(s)/wúǧa(s)* | *búya*, *búyt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *búwīn* | **búǧīn/wúǧīn* | *búyna* (< **būy-ína*) |
| 2, 3 | *búwin* | *búǧin/wúǧin* | *búyna* |

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *mấwim* | *mấǧim* | *mấyma* |
| 2 | *mấwī(t)* | **mấǧī(t)* | *mấy* (< **māy-ī*) |
| 3 | *mấwa(t)* | *mấǧa(s)* | *mấya*, *mấyt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *mấwīn* | **mấǧīn* | *mấyna* (< **māy-ína*) |
| 2, 3 | *mấwin* | *mấǧin* | *mấyna* |

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *gaī-* 'reach'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *gaíwim* | *gaíǧim* | *gaíma* |
| 2 | *gaíwī(t)* | *gaíǧī(t)* | *gaí* (< **gaī-y*) |
| 3 | *gaíwa(t)* | *gaíǧa(s)* | *gaía*, *gaít-* |
| Pl. 1 | *gaíwīn* | *gaíǧīn* | *gaína* (< **gaī-yna*) |
| 2, 3 | *gaíwin* | *gaíǧin* | *gaína* |

[1] Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 211 (*b*)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.

(*b*) Concerning the (*t*) and (*s*) forms of the auxiliary, see § 209 (*c*). Note that in Piž. the (*t*) of the 3rd Sg. Perfect form may appear before a consonant, e.g.

Piž. — *čōt bō ǰātī:* he has gone to plough

(*c*) In Sul. when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic (*v.* § 208 (*c*) fn.) the 3rd Sg. Perfect is regularly, e.g.

Sul. — *gaṛāwatawa, hātōtawa*: he has returned, come back

The syllable *-at-* is generally added, redundantly, to the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl., but not 2nd Sg. forms, in this context, thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | 1 | *gaṛāwimatawa* | *hātuwimatawa* |
| | 2 | *gaṛāwītawa* | *hātuwītawa* |
| | 3 | *gaṛāwatawa* | *hātōtawa* |
| Pl. | 1 | *gaṛāwīmatawa* | *hātuwīmatawa* |
| | 2, 3 | *gaṛāwimatawa* | *hātuwimatawa* |

Examples:

Sul. E *hīčyān nadāwimatē*: they have given me nothing (*v.* §§ 229 (*b*) (ii), 237 (*b*))
E *hīčtān bō nagērāwimatawa*: you have not related anything to me

but,

Bin. 325 *gaṛāwimawa*: I have returned
359 *hātuwimawa*: I have come back
Muk. § 78 *hātūīnawa*: we have come back

§ 215. (*a*) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past *stem* with the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses of the auxiliary verb *bān* (§§ 208 (*b*) (i), 211 (*b*) (ii)) respectively.[1]

In all dialects except Bin., Piž. a stressed *-ī-* is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary.

[1] In War. these two tenses would thus be identical in form in all but the 3rd Sg., e.g.

Perf. Subj. **hātīwim, -wī(t), -wē(t), -wīn, -wīn*
Pluperf. *hātīwim, -wī(t), -ū, -wīn, -wīn*

No examples of War. Perfect Subjunctive were, however, recorded. Mann, Muk. § 80, notes the contracted *Sinaī* Pluperfect *hātūm* (*v.* § 75).

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt-* 'come'

| | Sul., &c. | Bin., Piž. |
|---|---|---|
| **Perfect Subjunctive** | | |
| Sg. 1 | *hātibim* | *hātbim* |
| 2 | *hātibī(t)*, Sor. *-bī* | *hātbī* |
| 3 | *hātibē(t)*, *-bī(tin)* | *hātbē(t)* |
| Pl. 1 | *hātibin* | *hātbin* |
| 2, 3 | *hātibin* | *hātbin* |
| **Pluperfect** | | |
| Sg. 1 | *hātibūm*, &c. | *hātbūm*, &c. |

(ii) a vowel,[1] e.g. *čū-* 'go'

| | All dialects |
|---|---|
| **Perfect Subjunctive** | |
| Sg. 1 | *čūbim* |
| 2 | *čūbī(t)*, Sor. *-bī* |
| 3 | *čūbē(t)*, *-bī(tin)* |
| Pl. 1 | *čūbin* |
| 2, 3 | *čūbin* |
| **Pluperfect** | |
| Sg. 1 | *čūbūm*, &c. |

**§ 216.** (*a*) In all Sor. and Muk. a Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb *būn* with the 'conditional' infix *-ā-* (cf. §§ 287 (*b*), 291) and past endings (§ 212 (*a*)).[2] The modal affix *b(ī)-* is commonly prefixed to this form, and must be so when an Agential suffix (*v.* § 225) is part of the verbal form (*v.* § 227).

[1] In Bin., Piž., Muk. § 72, the past stem of the verb *būn* is reduced to *bī-* in the Pluperfect tense, thus *bībim*, &c.

[2] Not, with Mann, Muk. § 72, an alternative present stem *bā-* directly comparable with NP. *bād-*. Muk. 116[25] *bām* 'would I had been', Rdz. 487 *nabāy* 'hadst thou not been', &c., are reduced forms of the Perfect Conditional **bībām*, &c., due presumably to confusion of the stem *bā-* (cf. previous fn.) with the identical modal prefix.

Thus:

| | Sor., Muk. |
|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bām |
| 2 | (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bāy |
| 3 | (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bā |
| Pl. 1 | (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bāyn |
| 2, 3 | (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)bān |

(*b*) The suffix *-āya* (*v.* § 212 (*b*)) may be added to this form giving a Perfect Conditional II tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (*bí*)*hāt*(*í*)*bāmāya*, &c.

In Bin., Pīž. the 'conditional' *-ā-* may, in addition, be infixed between stem and auxiliary, giving a Perfect Conditional III tense, thus:

Sg. 1 (*bí*)*hātābāmāya*, &c.

For examples, see § 249 (*c*).

## Summary

§ 217. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

Present Indicative (§ 208)
*a-kaw-im*, &c.

Present Subjunctive (§ 208)
*bí-kaw-im*, &c.

Imperative (§ 210)
*bí-kaw-a*, &c.

---

Past (§ 211)
*kawt-im*, &c.

Imperfect (§ 212 (*a*))
*a-kawt-im*, &c.

Past Conditional (§ 212 (*b*))
*bí-kawt-im-āya*, &c.

---

Past Participle (§ 213)
*kawt-á*

Perfect Indicative (§ 214)
*kawtúw-im*, &c.

---

Pluperfect (§ 215)
*kawt*(*í*)*bām*, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 215)
*kawt*(*í*)*bim*, &c.

Perfect Conditional I (§ 216 (*a*))

(*bi*)*kawt(i)bām*, &c.

Perfect Conditional II (§ 216 (*b*))

(*bi*)*kawt(i)bām-āya*, &c.

Perfect Conditional III (§ 216 (*b*))

(*bi*)*kawt-ā-bām-āya*, &c.

### Certain Verbs

**§ 218.** (*a*) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *būn* yields the verb *habūn* 'exist'. Of this only 3rd person forms, Sg. in Sul., War., Sg. and Pl. in Sor., Muk., commonly occur, though the remaining persons are attested. In War. there occurs a distinct 3rd Sg. Present form.

In conjunction with the personal pronoun suffixes (with dative sense, *v.* § 197 (*b*) (v)) this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

| | Sul., &c. | War. | Arb. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present Indicative | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *ham* | | |
| 2 | *hay(t)* | | |
| 3 'there is' | *haya* | *has* | *haya, hayt-* |
| Pl. 1 | *hayn* | | |
| 2, 3 'there are' | *han* | | |
| 'I have' | *ha-m-a,* | *has-im,* | *hayt-im,* |
| | *-m haya* | *-m has* | *-m haya* |
| 'thou hast' | *ha-t-a,* | *has-i(t),* | *hayt-it,* |
| | *-t haya* | *-t has* | *-t haya* |
| 'he has' | *hayat-ī,*[1] | *has-ī,* | *hayt-ī,* |
| | *-ī haya* | *-ī has* | *-ī haya* |
| 'we have' | *ha-mān-a,* | *has-mān,* | *hayt-mān,* |
| | *-mān haya* | *-mān has* | *-mān haya* |
| 'you have' | *ha-tān-a,* | *has-tān,* | *hayt-ū,* |
| | *-tān haya* | *-tān has* | *-ū haya* |
| 'they have' | *ha-yān-a,* | *has-yān,* | *hayt-yān,* |
| | *-yān haya* | *-yān has* | *-yān haya* |
| 'I have (Pl.)' | (Sor., Muk. only) | | *han-im,* |
| | | | *-m han*, &c. |

[1] See § 219.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Present Subjunctive | | |
| 'if there be' | *habē(t)* | *habī(tin)* |
| 'if I have' | *ha-m-bē(t)*, *-m habē(t)*, &c. | *ha-m-bī(tin)*, *-m habī(tin)*, &c. |
| Past, Imperfect | | |
| 'there was, used to be' | *habū* | |
| 'I had, used to have' | *ha-m-bū*, *-m habū*, &c. | |
| Past Conditional | | |
| 'if I (had) had' | *ha-m-bwāya*, *-m habwāya*, &c. | *ha-m-bāya*, *-m habāya*, &c. |
| Perfect Indicative | | |
| 'I have had' | *ha-m-būwa*, *-m habūwa*, &c. | *ha-m-būya*, *-m habūya*, &c. |

Examples:

Sul. P *naẓārazāy galē tēgāy žērzawī* hay: thou art unaware of many underground passages
War. — *čītēkī tir* has: there is another thing
Piž. — *malān* haya, *faqēšin* han: we have a mullah and some students too
Muk. 197[19] hanim *ḫudūdī*: I have some noble horses
Sul. 69 *tūtikēkī pičkōlay* habū: she had a little puppy
Bin. 310 hamānbū: we were well off (lit. 'we had')
Arb. — *agar tīm* habāya *nadahātim*: had I had work to do I would not have come

(*b*) In conjunction with a personal pronoun suffix the enclitic forms of the substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)) may still give the sense of possession in the absence of the morpheme *ha-*, e.g.

Sul. — *tīnū*-m-a: I am thirsty ('j'ai soif')
— *birsī*-at-ī[1]: he is hungry ('il a faim')
16 *čī*-at-ī[1]: what is the matter with him ('qu'est-ce qu'il a')?

The morpheme *ha-* does not appear with negative forms, thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| '(there) is not' | | *nīa*, &c. (*v.* § 209 (*b*)) | |
| 'I have not' | Sul., &c. | *nī-m-a*, *-m nīa* | Arb. *nīt-im*, *-m nīa* |
| 'we have not' | | *nī-mān-a*, *-mān nīa*, &c. | *nīt-mān*, *-mān nīa*, &c. |

[1] See § 219.

**§ 219.** When the 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix *-ī* is employed with the enclitic substantive verb 3rd Sg. *-a* ambiguity could arise in certain contexts, e.g.

Sul., &c. *haya* 'there is' : **ha*+*y*+*a* 'he has' (*v.* § 218 (*a*))
*čī-a* 'what is it?' : **čī*+*y*+*a* 'qu'est-ce qu'il a?'
*birsī-a* 'he is hungry' : **birsī*+*y*+*a* 'il a faim'
(*birsī*, (1) hungry, (2) hunger)

The ambiguity is obviated by the pronoun suffix appearing after the enclitic verb (*v.* § 209 (*c*)), even when it is also plainly present before it, thus:

Sul., &c. *hayat*-I: he has
*čī(y)at*-I: what is the matter with him?
*birsī(y)at*-I: he is hungry
*tīnāyat*-I: he is thirsty
Arb. *tēnīt*-I: he is thirsty

The resulting groups Sul., Muk. *-latī*, *-yatī* > *-ētī*, War. *-yasī*, Arb. *-ītī*, then commonly replace *-īa*, *-ya* in this context, whether the latter actually contains a 3rd Sg. personal pronoun suffix or not, and even when no ambiguity could arise, e.g.

Sul. 13 *xwnuwyatī*[1] < *-y-a: she has studied
16 *čī dardēkētī* < *-I-a: what pain he has
War. 210 *xālōyasī* < *-y-a: it is his uncle
224 *kuštīğyasī*[1] < *-y-a: he has killed him
Muk. MS. *gestuwyatawa*[1] < *-y-at-*awa*: he has moved (house)
Arb. — *awa pīštītī* < *-I-a: that is his back

and, where *-y-* is merely euphonic,

Sul. 112 *ba žēr sarēwayatī* < **sar-ī-awa-ya*: is under his head
178 *la barīāyati* < **bar-ī-ā-ya*: he has (his coat) on

**§ 220.** (*a*) The present tenses of the verb *wīstin* 'want' are provided by an impersonal construction. The stem *(a)wē-*, taking the normal modal affixes (§ 206) and present verbal endings (§ 208),

[1] See § 227.

appears with the personal pronoun suffixes with dative sense (§ 197 (*b*) (v)).[1]

The full stem *awē-* occurs after a personal pronoun suffix attached to the modal or negative affix. Otherwise the shorter stem *wē-* appears connected immediately with the affix. Thus:

Sul. — *a-m-awē(t)*, *-m a-wē(t)*: I want
— *a-t-awē(t)*, *-t a-wē(t)*: thou wantest
— *a-y-awē(t)*, *-I a-wē(t)*: he wants, &c.
— *a-y-awēm*: he wants me
— *xōt-im a-wēyt*: I love thee (*xōt wīstin*)
P *axānī min tōm ẓand xōt awēt*: thou knowest how much I love thee (*v.* § 196 (*c*))
— *bi-t-awē(t)*, *-t bi-wē(t)*: if thou want, &c.
P *čōnī biwēt*: however he may want (it)
— *nā-t-awē(t)*, *-t nā-wē(t)*: thou dost not want, &c.
— *na-t-awē(t)*, *-t na-wē(t)*: if thou do not want, &c.
Bin., &c. *da-m-awē(t)*, *-m da-wē(t)*: I want, &c.
394 *dayawētawa*: (he) wants (him) again
Arb., &c. *da-m-awē(tin)*, *-m da-wē(tin)*: I want, &c.

In the past tenses *wīstin* is conjugated as a regular transitive verb (*v.* § 223 ff.).

(*b*) In War. the verb *wīstin* is largely replaced by a periphrasis with the adjective *garak* 'necessary' and the substantive verb, e.g.

War. 224 garak-*im-a*: I want, need . . .
227 garak-*a*: please . . . (it is requested . . .)
231 *min tō-m naǧ*arak-*a*: I do not want thee

With Sul., &c., *xōt wīstin* 'to love' compare

War. 223 *xōt-ī* garak *būn*: (he) loved them

§ 221. (*a*) The following forms of a defective auxiliary verb with the sense 'must, ought to' are attested:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Present | Sul. *abē*, War. *awē* | Bin., Piž., Muk. *dabē* |
| Past | Sul. *abwāya* | Bin., Piž., Muk. *dabū* |

[1] The stem appears to have adjectival meaning, 'wanted, necessary' or the like. Its verbal status, however, indicated by the 3rd Sg. forms in which the characteristic verbal endings, with optional *-(t)*, Arb., &c., *-(tin)* (§ 208 (*b*) (ii)), occur and not the enclitic substantive verb (§ 209 (*a*)), is confirmed by the varying modal affixes. Contrast the adjectival construction in (*b*) below.

Examples:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul. | — | abē *kuř bē*: it must be a boy |
| | — | abwāya *kuř bwāya*: she should have been a boy |
| | — | abē *xēwēkī dībē*: he must have seen a ghost |
| | 10 | abē . . . *biygirīn*: we must catch it |
| | 41 | sbē *bēy lagalmānā*: thou must come with us |
| War. | 196 | awē *bičīn*: we must go |
| Bin. | 299 | dabē *bičim*: I must go |
| Piž. | 404 | dabū *zūtir* . . . *hātbāy*: thou shouldst have come sooner |
| Muk. | 25[26] | dabē *ba qisay bikay*: thou must do as he says |

(*b*) The particles *bā*, Muk. § 71 *bilā*, *dā* (cf. §§ 295 (*b*), 310 (*b*)) have the sense 'let . . .', e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul. | 8 | bā *minālī tō bibīnim*: let me see children of thine |
| | 14 | bā *biřēynawa*: let us go back |
| | 26 | bā *aw āxāya bē*: let that hero come |
| | 45 | *nabā* . . . *nagařēmawa*: let it not be that (= lest) I do not return |
| Bin. | 322 | *aw* bā *lawē bē*: let him be there |
| Rdz. | — | *da*, bā *lēra bī*: let it be (= stay) here |
| Xoš. | 445 | bā *bičīna ṭāwē*: let us go hunting |
| Muk. | 25[6] | bilā *bičim*: let me go |
| | 27[9] | bilā . . . *mamī hal girīn*: let us take up Mem. |

## Verbal Constructions

§ 222. In the present tenses of Intransitive and Transitive verbs alike a Subject (A)[1] is always expressed in the personal ending of the verb and possibly by an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*min*] *aṙōm*(=A): I go

With Transitive verbs a Direct Object (B) and/or an Indirect Object (C) is normally expressed (exception, *v.* § 223 (*b*)) by a noun or pronoun form. Normally therefore two, and possibly three, parts are expressed in the phrase, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*pyāwaka*] (B)*sagaka akužē*(=A): [the man] kills the dog

[1] See fn. 3 opposite.

[(A)*pyāwaka*] *a*-(B)*y*-*dā*(=A) *ba* (C)*sagaka*: [the man] gives it to the dog

[(A)*pyāwaka*] *la* (C)*sagaka adā*(=A): [the man] strikes at the dog

*a*-(B)*y*-*kušē*(=A): he kills it

*a*-(C)*y*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives (it) to him[1]

*a*-(B)*m*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives me to (him)[1]

*a*-(C)*m*-*dāt*(=A)-*ē*: he gives (it) to me[1]

*lē*-(C)*y adā*(=A): he strikes at it

In the past tenses of Intransitive verbs likewise a Subject (A) is always manifest in the personal ending and possibly in an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. [(A)*min*] *rōištim*(=A): I went

The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs, however, are marked by a particular construction in which three, and with an Indirect 'Object' four, parts may be expressed. This construction requires elaboration.[2]

§ 223. (*a*) With the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs an Agent (1)[3] *may* be present in the form of an independent noun or pronoun (*v.* § 224). This Agent is in no way equivalent to a Subject, in concord with the verbal form.

A Direct Affectee (2), i.e. a person or thing directly affected by the *Agent*, without reference to the verbal form,[4] is generally represented (exceptions, *v.* (*b*) below). It is then expressed by a verbal personal ending (*v.* § 226) and may also be present as an independent nominal form.

An Indirect Affectee (3), i.e. a person or thing affected, but indirectly, by the *Agent*,[4] may be represented. If not expressed by a nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative suffix forms (*v.* § 229 (*b*)).

[1] *-ē*, *v.* § 237 (*b*). A 3rd Sg. pronominal Direct Object cannot be expressed in this short form.

[2] With the following §§ 223–30 cf. E.'s somewhat different presentation, with examples, in *BSOAS*, XVII. 490, 499 ff.

[3] The figures (1)–(4) are used to indicate the parts of this Agential construction as distinct from the letters (A)–(C) used for the parts of the simple construction described in § 222.

[4] The terms 'Direct/Indirect Affectee' are employed to avoid confusion with the formal terms 'Direct/Indirect Object', i.e. 'nouns &c. primarily/secondarily affected by the *action* of the verb', as in § 222.

A fourth part, which is essential to the construction, is the personal pronoun suffix form which *resumes* an Agent (1) already expressed or is, otherwise, the agent itself. It is convenient to term the pronoun suffix in this function the Agential suffix (4).

The term *Agential construction* will, therefore, be used for this characteristic construction of the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs. Thus:

Sul. [(1)*pyāwaka*] (2)*sagaka*-(4)*y kuštⁱ*(=2): [the man] killed the dog
[(1)*pyāwaka*] (2)*nānaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=2) *ba* (3)*sagaka*: [the man] gave the bread to the dog
[(1)*pyāwaka*] *ba* (3)*sagaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=2): [the man] gave it to the dog
*kuštⁱ*(=2)-(4)*īⁱ*: he killed it
*dāⁱ*(=2)-(4)*y*-(3)*m-ēⁱ*: he gave it to me[1]

(*b*) A sub-class of Transitive verbs is formed by those denominative verbs which indicate the making of some sound (*v.* § 255 (*d*) end). Although these verbs do not take a Direct Object (indicated therefore (Ø)) they follow the Agential construction in the past tenses. The verb then appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form, e.g.

Sul. — *abōrēnēⁱ*(=A): it (cow) is lowing
— *bōrānⁱ*(=Ø)-(4)*īⁱ*: it lowed
— *a*-(4)*y*-*bōrānⁱ*(=Ø): it was lowing
— *aḫīlēminⁱ*(=A): they (horses) neigh
— *ḫīlānⁱ*(=Ø)-(4)*yānⁱ*: they neighed

Similarly, on the rare occasions when no Direct Affectee (Ø) is expressible in the Agential construction the verb appears in the minimal 3rd Sg. form. Cf.

Sul. (2)*tirēkⁱ*-(4)*īⁱ dāⁱ*(=2) *la* (3)*sagaka*: he shot an arrow at the dog, he hit the dog with an arrow
*la* (3)*sagaka*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=Ø): he struck (at) the dog
*lēⁱ*-(4)*y dāⁱ*(=Ø+3)[2]: he struck (at) it

Examples:

War. 219 (1)*muxtār* . . . *pēⁱ*-(4)*y zānīⁱ*(=Ø)-*mⁱ*(=3)[2]: the headman found out about them

Bin. 356 (1)*haćⁱ kasēⁱ lēⁱ*-(4)*y pirsīⁱ*(=Ø)-*mⁱ*(=3)[2]: whoever might ask (from) me

[1] *-ē*, *v.* § 237 (*b*). [2] Regarding the double verbal ending see § 229 (*b*) (ii).

§ 224. In the Agential construction if an Agent (1) is expressed by an independent noun or pronoun form this generally appears at the beginning of the phrase, though it may be preceded by an adverb. In narrative style, however, such an agent may be reiterated after the phrase.

In Sor., but not Muk. (*v.* Muk. § 87), such an Agent frequently appears in the Oblique case (§ 180 (*a*)), e.g.

Bin. 349 (1)*gamīawānī pēy gut*: the boatman said to him
Pīž. — (1)*awē kičē wāy kird*: that girl did thus
Arb. 422 (1)*kuṙakay, yisif, gōtī*: the boy, Joseph, said . . .

and, reiterated,

Bin. 320 *pēy gut*, (1)*patrūsyāy*: he, Petrusya, said to him . . .

§ 225. The Agential pronoun suffix (4) is suffixed to whichever word of the four appropriate categories listed above (§ 198) appears earliest in the sentence, e.g.

(i) Direct Affectee (2),

Sul. 2 (2)*dast-*(4)*ī birda bāxalī*: he put his hand into his bosom
2 (2)*sēwēk-*(4)*ī dar hēnā*: he took out an apple
War. 204 (2)*awīl-*(4)*yān bāŋ kird*: they called him too

Its complement,

Sul. 67 *tūšī am darda-*(4)*ī kirdim*: thou hast inflicted this pain on me
68 *bō čī šēt-*(4)*tān kirdim*: why did you make me (out to be) mad?
War. 190 *bāŋ-*(4)*yān kirdim*: they called me

(ii) Indirect Affectee (3),

Sul. 5 *yakēk la* (3)*dargā-*(4)*y dā*: someone knocked at the door

(iii) an absolute preposition (*v.* § 237),

Sul. — *lē-*(4)*y dā*: he set off (lit. 'beat it')

(iv. *α*) a preverb,

Sul. 67 *rā-*(4)*y kēšān*: he dragged them

(iv. *β*) a negative or modal affix,

Sul. 36 *kuṙ na-*(4)*y-hēlt*: the boy did not allow
— *a-*(4)*mān-xwārdawa*: we used to drink

(iv. γ) the verbal stem,

Sul. 2 *dā-(4)y-a das pāšā*: he gave it into the king's hand
2 *xist-(4)ī-a bāxalī*: he put it into his bosom

When ambiguity arises, or when the presence of the Agential suffix is not immediately obvious, then it may be repeated after the verb, e.g.

Sul. 3 *latēk-ī xō-y xwārd-(4)ī*: a piece of it he ate himself
69 *lagal xō-y bird-(4)ī*: he took it with him

*Note.* In one text (Bin. 314–79) there are a few examples of the Agential construction without an Agential suffix (*v.* also Muk. § 91), viz.

Bin. 331 *mālēkī xōr (1)xwāy dāwa*: God has given great wealth
335 (1)*awī čand ḫadadēkī ḫaskar ū ḫasākīr ṭagal xist*: he took some soldiers with him
342 *čwī (1)awī dībū*: that which he had seen
370 (1)*patrūsyāy gut*: Petrusya said . . .

The Agent (1) is here always in the oblique case (*v.* § 224). If these are genuine dialect forms they bear a close resemblance to the construction, without Agential suffix, of the Bad., &c., dialects (*v.* § 296).

§ 226. (*a*) In the Agential construction a Direct Affectee (2) which is expressed by an independent nominal form appears in the direct case (*v.* § 180 (*a*)).

(*b*) A Direct Affectee when present, whether expressed by a nominal form or not, is always manifested in a verbal ending of the appropriate tense (§ 211 ff.). It is, however, an over-simplification to state that the verb 'agrees' with such a Direct Affectee, as is demonstrated by the frequent intrusion of the Agential suffix between verbal stem and personal ending (*v.* § 228).

(*c*) The commonest Direct Affectee being a noun or pronoun form (*v.* § 196 (*c*)), the verbal ending is commonly that of the 3rd Sg., i.e. in the past and pluperfect tenses Ø, and in the perfect *-a(t)*, &c.

§ 227. When the Agential suffix is attached to the verb itself a series of paradigms arises, according to the nature of the verbal

ending (*v.* §§ 226 (*b*), 229 (*b*) (ii)). The commonest paradigms are those in which the verbal ending is 3rd Sg., thus:

| | | Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk. | Arb., Rdz., Xoš. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Past (cf. § 211) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | Agent *xónim* | /*xwéndim*, &c. | *xíndim* |
| 2 | *xoni(t)* | /*xwéndit* | *xíndit* |
| 3 | *xonī* | /*xwéndī* | *xíndī* |
| Pl. 1 | *xonmān* | /*xwéndin*, &c. | *xíndmān* |
| 2 | *xontān* | /*xwéndū* . | *xíndtān* |
| 3 | *xonyān* | /*xwéndyān* | *xíndyān* |
| Imperfect (cf. § 212 (*a*)) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *amxón* | /*damxwénd*, &c. | *damxínd*, &c. |
| Past Conditional (cf. § 212 (*b*)) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *bímxonāya* | /*bímxwéndāya*, &c. | |
| Perfect (cf. § 214 (*a*)) | | | |
| | Sul., &c. | War. | Arb., &c. |
| Sg. 1 | *xonúwma*[1] | *xwandíğma* | *xíndítim* |
| 2 | *xonuwta* | *xwandiğta* | *xíndītit* |
| 3 | *xonuwya(tī)*[2] | *xwandiğya(sī)*[2, 3] | *xíndītī* |
| Pl. 1 | *xonuwmāna* | *xwandiğmāna* | *xíndītmān* |
| 2 | *xonuwtāna* | *xwandiğtāna* | *xíndīttān* |
| 3 | *xonuwyāna* | *xwandiğyāna* | *xíndītyān* |
| Cf. negative, | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *námxonuwa* | *námxwandiğa*, &c. | *námxíndīa*, &c. |
| Perfect Subjunctive (cf. § 215) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *xonibētim* | /*xwéndbētim*, &c. | |
| 2 | *xonibēti(t)* | /*xwéndbētit*, &c. | |
| Pluperfect (cf. § 215) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | *xonibūm* | /*xwéndbūm* | *xíndibūm* |
| 2 | *xonibūt* | /*xwéndbūt*, &c. | *xíndibūt*, &c. |
| Perfect Conditional (cf. § 216 (*a*)) | | | |
| Sg. 1 | | *bímxwéndbā* | *bímxíndibā* |
| 2 | | *bitxwéndbā*, &c. | *bitxíndibā*, &c. |

[1] Realized [-ˈu:ma], &c., *v.* §§ 60, 213.
[2] See § 219. [3] Realized [-ˈi:ʲɛ], *v.* § 76.

It will be noted that the Agential suffix generally precedes the auxiliary *-a* of the Perfect Indicative tense, but follows the equivalent *-t-* in Arb., &c. (*v.* § 209 (*a*)).

**§ 228.** When the verbal ending is other than 3rd Sg. it normally follows the Agential suffix. A general exception to this is the 3rd Sg. Agential suffix *-t* which always follows the verbal ending. Particular exceptions are noted below.

The full range of possible combinations of two parts, viz. Agential suffix and verbal ending expressing either Affectee, may be summarized as in Table I. The material for dialects other than Sul. is insufficient to cover all possibilities (*v.* Muk. § 90), but known divergences are noted below. In Arb., &c., the range is, in practice, limited to Past tense forms where the Agent is 3rd Sg. or Pl. and the verbal ending other than 2nd Sg. Thus the Arb. forms shown in the Table comprise all those attested.

*Notes to the Table*

(1) In Sul. the final (*t*) of a group such as *dīmī(t)* 'I saw thee' is always realized, to avoid confusion with the form *dīmī* 'he saw me'.

(2) In Piž., Muk. the group *-im-in* 'I . . . you/them' alternates freely with *-in-im*.

(3) In Sul., when the past stem ends in *-t*, the Agential suffix 2nd Sg. *-i(t)* follows the verbal ending, e.g. *kultimi*(t), *kultini*(t), *kultini*(t). The grouping may then be extended to other verbs, e.g. *dītimi*(t).

(4) In Sul., following a past stem ending in a consonant and the past participle in *-to* (*v.* § 213), the first vowel of the groups *-ītī-*, *-ītȳ-*, *-īnī-*, *-īnȳ-* is usually reduced, thus:

*xwārdītī* > [ˈxwaːrdtiˑ]: he ate thee
(Bin. 311) *nārdīnī* > [ˈnaːrdniˑ]: he sent us
*nārduwītī* > [naːrˈduːtiˑ]: he has sent thee

Certain forms then coincide, e.g.

[ˈnaːrdniˑ]: he sent us, you, them

demanding, in turn, a consistent spelling as *-itī*, *-ity-*, *-inī*, *-inȳ-* (*v.* §§ 41 (*c*), 208 (*a*) 1), e.g.

*xwārditī*, *nārdinī*, *nārduwitī*, &c.

# Table I

Sul. **Direct Affectee**

| | -*im* 'me' | | -*it*(*t*) 'thee' | | -*in* 'us' | | -*in* 'you, them' | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A -*im* 'I' | (Past)<br>(Perfect) | | *dimit*[1]<br>*dimimit* | *nárdimit*†<br>*nárdumunit* | | | *dimin*<br>*dimimin* | *nárdimin*[2]<br>*nárdumumin* |
| -*it* 'thou' | *ditim*<br>*dimitim* | *nárditim*[3]<br>*nárdumitim* | | | *ditin*<br>*dimitin* | *nárditin*[3]<br>*nárdumitin* | *ditin*<br>*dimitin* | *nárditin*[3]<br>*nárdumitin* |
| -*i* 'he' | *dimi*, Arb. *ditimi*<br>*dimimi* | *nárdimi*<br>*nárdumimi* | *dit*<br>*dimit*[4] | *nárdit*[4]<br>*nárdumit*[4] | *dini*, Arb. *ditini*<br>*dimini*[4] | *nárdini*[4]<br>*nárdumini*[4] | *dini*, Arb. *ditini*<br>*dimini* | *nárdini*<br>*nárdumini* |
| -*mán* 'we' | | | *dimáni*(*t*)<br>*dimmáni*(*t*) | *nárdumáni*(*t*)<br>*nárdummáni*(*t*) | | | *dimánin*<br>*dimmánin* | *nárdumánin*<br>*nárdummánin* |
| -*idn* 'you' | *ditánim*<br>*dimtánim* | *nárditánim*<br>*nárdumtánim* | | | *ditánin*<br>*dimtánin* | *nárditánin*<br>*nárdumtánin* | *ditánin*<br>*dimtánin* | *nárditánin*<br>*nárdumtánin* |
| -*ydn* 'they' | *diydnim*<br>*dimydn*, Arb. *ditimydn*<br>*dimydnim*<br>*dimimydn* | *nárdydnim*[5]<br>*nárdimydn*<br>*nárdumydnim*<br>*nárdumimydn* | *diydni*(*t*)<br>*dimydn*<br>*dimydni*(*t*)<br>*dimitydn*[4] | *nárdydni*(*t*)[5]<br>*nárdimydn*[4]<br>*nárdumydni*(*t*)<br>*nárdumitydn*[4] | *diydnin*<br>*dimydn*, Arb. *ditimydn*[4]<br>*dimydnin*<br>*dimimydn*[4] | *nárdydnin*[3]<br>*nárdimydn*[4]<br>*nárdumydnin*<br>*nárdumimydn*[4] | *diydnin*<br>*dimydn*, Arb. *ditimydn*<br>*dimydnin*<br>*dimimydn* | *nárdydnin*[3]<br>*nárdimydn*<br>*nárdumydnin*<br>*nárdumimydn* |

† *dín* 'see', *nárdin* 'send'; thus 'I saw thee, I sent thee, I have seen thee, I have sent thee, &c.'

Examples:

Sul. P *kē nārdit*ī: who sent thee?
P *girt*inī: he seized us
P *wahīma girtuwit*ī: fear has seized thee

Note the same reduction in the following, irregular, example,

Sul. P *min nārduwitim* (: *nārduwemīt*): I have sent thee

(5) The 3rd Pl. Agential suffix *-yān* may either precede or follow the verbal ending, more commonly the former.

**§ 229.** (*a*) In the Agential construction an Indirect Affectee (3), if it is expressed by an independent nominal form, does not modify the verbal form; the ending of the verb then indicates the person of the Direct Affectee (2) (*v.* § 226 (*b*)), thus:

Sul. — *la* (3)*ēma*-(4)*y sandin*(=2) / (2)*awān*-(4)*ī la* (3)*ēma sand*(=2)[1] } he took them from us
— *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*ēma* / (2)*awān*-(4)*ī dā*(=2)[1] *ba* (3)*ēma* } he gave them to us
— *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī ba* (3)*gurgān-xwārdā*: he ruined me (lit. 'gave me into (the state of being) wolf-eaten')
158 (2)*xaw*-(4)*im ba* (3)*tōwa dītwa*(=2): I have seen a dream about thee

(*b*) When the Indirect Affectee (3) is not expressed by an independent nominal form it may appear in either of two alternative forms, viz.

(*i*) as a personal *pronoun* suffix, if it is attached to an absolute preposition (*v.* § 237), thus:

Sul. — *lē*-(3)mān-(4)*ī sandin*(=2) / *sandin*(=2)-(4)*ī lē*-(3)mān } he took them from us
— *pē*-(3)mān-(4)*ī dān*(=2) / *dān*(=2)-(4)*ī pē*-(3)mān } he gave them to us
E *lē*-(3)tān-(4)*im war nagirt*(=2) / *war*-(4)*im nagirt*(=2) *lē*-(3)tān } I did not receive it from you

(ii) as a *verbal* personal ending, if it is attached to the verb form, thus:

[1] *Cf.* §§ 196 (*c*), 242 (*d*).

Sul. — (2)*awān-*(4)*ī lē sand*(=2)*în*(=3) } he took them from
*lē-*(4)*y sandin*(=2)*în*(=3) } us

— (2)*awān-*(4)*ī dā*(=2)*yn*(=3)*-ē* } he gave them to us
*pē-*(4)*y dān*(=2)*în*(=3) }

158 (2)*xaw-*(4)*im pēwa dīvelt*(=3): I have seen a dream about thee

These forms show clearly that the verbal stem is capable of supporting two endings, expressing both affectees. From this fact a number of formal points arise which are treated separately in § 230.

(*c*) Similarly a personal pronoun (P2) qualifying the Direct Affectee (2) may, when the Agent is suffixed (4) to that Affectee, in fact be represented, not by a personal *pronoun* suffix, but by a corresponding *verbal* personal ending attached to the verbal form, e.g.

Sul. 127 (2)*baĉkakān-*(4)*ī axwārd*(=2)*im*(=P2): it used to eat my children

E *lētaka* (2)*dar-*(4)*ī gazī*(=2)*m*(=P2): the madman bit my hand

War. 204 (2)*ſasm-*(4)*yān girt*(=2)*în*(=P2): they took photos of us

Bin. 331 (2)*sar-*(4)*im la qalbē ǰo dakird*(=2)*ī*(=P2)*-awa*: I would have separated thy head from thy body

Pīž. 412 (2)*balak-*(4)*yān dagirt*(=2)*im*(=P2): they would seize my shank

Muk. 174[35] (2)*ſūānwala-*(4)*y . . . bird*(=2)*im*(=P2): he took my foal

A rare extension of this to the complement (P3) of the Indirect Affectee is seen in

Bin. 326 *ba* (3)*qisa-*(4)*y kird*(=2)*in*(=P3): he did according to their words

(*d*) The characteristic construction described in (*b*, *c*) above often gives the verb the appearance of 'agreeing' with the Indirect Affectee or the complement of the Direct Affectee, but see § 226.

The extension of this construction seen in the present or intransitive examples at Muk. § 95 is extraordinary, if real. Muk. 215[16] *hīč farzandū nabūn* is explicable simply as a 3. Pl. verb 'you had no sons' (cf. § 242 (*b*, *c*)).

**§ 230.** (*a*) When both Direct and Indirect Affectee are pronominal then the verb stem carries two evident personal endings (§ 229 (*b*) (ii)), e.g.

Sul. — *lē*-(4)*y sandin*(=2)*īn*(=3): he took them from us
— *pē*-(4)*y dān*(=2)*in*(=3): he gave them to us

The order of suffixation is apparently

(2)Direct Affectee+(3)Indirect Affectee

When, in addition, the Agent is also suffixed to the verb, it (4) and the verbal ending representing the Direct Affectee (2) appear in the order described in § 228, the Indirect Affectee ending (3) normally being last, e.g.

Sul. — *dā*-(4)m-*īt*(=2)*in*(=3)-*ē*: I gave thee to them
— *xwā dām*(=2)-(4)*ī*-n(=3)-*ē*: God gave me to you

That the connexion between the Indirect Affectee ending (3) and the verbal stem is tenuous is shown by the fact that it may follow another enclitic, e.g.

Sul. — *dāto*-(4)*it*-*īn*(=2)-*ē*-n(=3): Thou hast given us to them (*-ē* postposition, *v.* § 237 (*b*))

(*b*) In practice such complex forms are avoided and the examples in (*a*) above (and even those given by E. in *BSOAS*, XVII. 502, § 49) are to be regarded with caution.

When, however, either Affectee is 3rd Sg. pronominal, and hence represented in the past tense by a verbal ending -Ø, the form is quite common, e.g.

Sul. — *dāmītē* (*dā*-(4)m-*īt*(=2)-Ø(=3)-*ē*): I gave thee to him
— *dāmītē* (*dā*-(4)m-Ø(=2)-*īt*(=3)-*ē*): I gave him to thee
— *lē*-(4)*y sandin*(=2)-Ø(=3): he took them from her
E *lē*-(4)*m war nagirt*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3): I did not receive it from you/them
P *dā*-Ø(=2)-(4)*y*-m(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to me
P *dā*-Ø(=2)-(4)*y*-n(=3)-*ē*: he gave it to them
Muk. 42[9] *xulā dā*-Ø(=2)-m(=3)-(4)*ī*-*ē*: God gave (him) to me

(*c*) In most cases, however, the Direct Affectee is represented by a nominal form, to which the Agential suffix is commonly attached, and hence also by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending (*v.* § 226 (*c*)), viz. Ø in the past tense, e.g.

Sul. 7 (2)*soŋ*-(4)*ī dā*-Ø(=2)-*m*(=3): he administered an oath to me

10 *pē*-(4)*y wut*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3): he said to them . . .

14 *tā* . . . (2)*čīšt*-(4)*ī bō kird*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3): by the time that she had made a meal for them

80 (2)*harsēkyān*-(4)*im bō ḥāzir kird*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3): I have brought all three of them for thee

Muk. $4^{25}$ (2)*xō*-(4)*y lē kird*-Ø(=2)-*in*(=3)-*a dārōya*: he made himself policeman towards them

$111^{8}$ --(4)*im pēškī kird*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3): I gave (it) to thee

$163^{19}$ --(4)*m dā*-Ø(=2)-*n*(=3)-*ē*: I gave (it) to you

$163^{20}$ --(4)*ī dā*-Ø(=2)-*yn*(=3)-*ē*: (God) gave (it) to us

$176^{33}$ (2)*tīrēk*-(4)*ī lē dā*-Ø(=2)-*m*(=3): he shot me with an arrow

$232^{6}$ *wā*-(4)*y lē kird*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=3): he did thus to me

(*d*) The corresponding 3rd Sg. ending of the Perfect tense, *-a(t)*, &c., is apparently omitted in these constructions, on the analogy of Past tense forms, e.g.

Sul. — *dāw*-(4)*it*-*in*(=2)-Ø(=3)-*ē*: Thou hast given us to him

E (2)*kāyazaka*-(4)*yān dirīw*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=P2): they have torn my letter

52 *agar* (2)*aǰal*-(4)*ī hēnāw*-Ø(=2)-*im*(=P2): if Thou hast brought (the hour of) my death

Hal. — (2)*nāmakān*-(4)*yān dirānuw*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=P2): have they torn thy letters?

Piž. 409 (2)*ǰīmāḫ*-(4)*yān* . . . } they have had
. . . *lagal kirduw*-Ø(=2)-*ī*(=3), } intercourse
. . . *kirduw*-a(=2) *lagal* (3)*tō* } with thee

Bin. 327 (2)*dū kārakar*-(4)*ī bō tā* girtuwinata *aw mindāla*: he appointed two maids for her to that child (*girtuw*-*in*(=2)-Ø(=3)-*at*(by extension, as § 214 (*c*))-*a*)

## Passive Conjugation

**§ 231.** The Passive voice of a transitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This passive verb is conjugated regularly as an intransitive verb.

(*a*) In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the addition of the morpheme *-rē-* to the present stem of the transitive verb yields the present stem of the Passive conjugation. Predictably (*v.* § 205 (*a*) (ii)) the past stem of the Passive has then the form of the present stem of the active verb plus the morpheme *-rā-*, thus:

Sul. *kultin, kuž-* 'kill' > *kužrē-, kužrā-, kužrān* 'be killed'
*nūsin, nūs-* 'write' > *nūsrē-, nūsrā-, nūsrān* 'be written'
*nārdin, nēr-* 'send' > *nērrē-, nērrā-, nērrān* 'be sent'

(*b*) In War. likewise the present stem of the Passive verb is formed from the present stem of the active verb, regularly, by the addition of the morpheme *-rē-*. Corresponding to this, however, the past stem has generally the morpheme *-yā-*, thus:

War. *nūsin, nūs-* 'write' > *nūsrē-, nūsyā-, nūsyān* 'be written'

or the compromise form *-ryā-*, thus:

War. *kultin, kuž-* 'kill' > *kužrē-, kuž(r)yā-, kuž(r)yān* 'be killed'

(*c*) In Sor. and Muk. particularly the Passive present stem is often formed by the addition of the morpheme *-rē-* to the *past* stem of the active verb, e.g.

Bin. 321 *nadītrāyawa*: could not be found (*dītinawa*)
335 *hangāwtrābū*: had been surrounded (*hangāwtin*)
Muk. § 100, fn. 1. **gutrē-, gutrā-, gutrān* 'be said' (*gutin*) (cf. § 232 (ii), s.v. *wutin*)
Rdz. — *kurāndrāya*[1]: has been boiled (*kurāndin*)
— *sōtāndrā*[1]: was burnt (*sōtāndin*)

Cf. Sul. *gā(ī)n, gē-* 'copulate with' > *gāyrē-, gāyrā-, gāyrān.*

**§ 232.** The formation of the passive stems of certain verbs is irregular:

(i) Reduction of stem final *-a-* to *-i-*,

[1] Cf. § 232 (iv).

Sul. *kirdin, ka-* 'do' > *kirē-, kirā-, kirān* 'be done'
*birdin, ba-* 'carry' > *birē-, birā-, birān* 'be carried'
*dān, da-* 'give, hit' > *dirē-, dirā-, dirān* 'be given, hit'
*xistin, xa-* 'throw' > *xirē-, xirā-, xirān* 'be thrown'

Cf. War. *kiryān* 'be done', *xiryān* 'be thrown', &c.

(ii) Loss of stem final *-ē-*,

Sul. *nān, nē-* 'put' > *nirē-, nirā-, nirān* 'be put'
*wutin, -lē-* 'say' > defective present *-lrē-* (more commonly *wutrē-*) 'be said'

(iii) Assimilation of *-r-*,

Sul. *gōr̄in, gōr̄-* 'change' > *gōr̄-rē* > *gōr̄ē-, gōr̄ā-* 'be changed'
*bir̄in, bir̄-* 'cut' > *bir̄-rē-* > *bir̄ē-, bir̄ā-* 'be cut'

Cf. War. *bir̄yān* 'be cut'.

(iv) Euphonic *-d-*. The groups *-n(i)r-, -rr-* arising in the passive stems commonly become *-ndr-, -rdr-* respectively in Sor. and Muk., e.g.

Bin., Rdz. *dā nān, nē-* 'put down' > *dāndrē-, dāndrā-, dāndrān* (cf. Sul. *nān* > *nirē-*, ii. above) 'be put down'
Muk. § 101 *nārdin, nēr-* 'send' > *nērdrē-, nērdrā-, nērdrān* 'be sent'
*zānīn, zān-* 'know' > *zāndrē-, zāndrā-, zāndrān* 'be known'

(v) Various,

Sul. *girtin, gir-* 'hold' : *gīrē-, gīrā-, gīrān* 'be held', also *gīrsē-, gīrsā-, gīrsān*; cf. War. *gīr(s)yān*
*xwārdin, xō-* 'eat' : *xurē-, xurā-, xurān* 'be eaten'
*šitin, šō-* 'wash' : *šōrē-, šōrā-, šōrān* 'be washed'
Arb. *šūštin, šō-* 'wash' : *šūrē-, šūrā-, šūrān* 'be washed'

## Causative Conjugation

§ 233. The Causative of an intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. This causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morphemes Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb. *-ēn-*, Rdz., Xoš. *-īn-* to the present stem of the intransitive

verb yields the present stem of the Causative conjugation. If the present stem of the intransitive verb ends in *-ê-* this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The addition to the Intransitive present stem of the morphemes Sul., War., *-ân-*, Sor., Muk. *-ând-* yields the past stem of the Causative. Thus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sul., War. | *dirîn, dirê-* 'tear' | > *dirên-, dirân-, dirânin* 'tear' |
| Bin., Piż., Muk., Arb. | | *dirên-, dirând-, dirândin* |
| Rdz., Xoš. | | *dirîn-, dirând-, dirândin* |
| Sul., &c. | *sûtin, sûtê-* 'burn' | > *sûtên-, sûtân-, sûtânin* 'burn' |
| Bin., &c. | | *sûtên-, sûtând-, sûtândin* |
| Rdz., Xoš. | *sôtin, sôt-* | > *sôtîn-, sôtând-, sôtândin* |
| Sul. | *fiřîn, fiř-* 'fly' | > *fiřên-, fiřân-, fiřânin*, also *řifên-, řifân-, řifânin* 'snatch' |
| | *řiřin, řiřê-* 'flow' | > *řiřên-, řiřân-, řiřânin* 'pour' |
| Note, | *gai(îti)n, ga-* 'arrive' | > *gayên-, gayân-, gayânin* 'send' |
| | *nûstin, nû-* 'sleep' | > *nwên-, nwân-, nwânin* 'put to sleep' |

## Compound Verbs

**§ 234.** A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (*v.* § 235) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. The meaning of compound verbs is a lexical matter. They do not differ in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal prefix *b(i)-* (§ 206 (*a*)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Sul. 25 *kuř lêra dâ nûtê*: let the boy sit here (*dâ nûtin*)
56 *řâm gira*: take me up! (*řâ girtin*)
80 *qâřî mâč kâ*: in order to kiss his foot (*mâč kirdin*)

but, with *b(i)-*,

Sul. 11 *ŵa dâ binîřin*: sit ye down!

## PARTICLES

### Preverbs

**§ 235.** There are two types of preverbs:

(*a*) The adverbs *dar, dâ, hal* (Arb., &c., *har*), *řâ, řô* (Sor., Muk.), *ŵar* and the 'postverb' suffix *-(a)ŵa* (War. *-ô*). This latter may appear, but rarely, in the form of a preverb *ŵa*, e.g.

War. 191 *wa dān* : *dān-ō*
Bin. 345 *wa paṙēna* : *paṙāndin-awa*
Muk. § 61 *wa baṙīn* : *baṙīn-awa*

Tho suffix has two distinct functions. It may either give the sense of repetition, or reversion, e.g.

Sul. *wutin* : *wutin-awa* — say : repeat
*gaṙān* : *gaṙān-awa* — wander : turn back

or modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, as do the other preverbs, e.g.

*kirdin* : *kirdin-awa* : *ṭā kirdin* — do : open : run away
*xwārdin* : *xwārdin-awa* — eat : drink

(*b*) The 'absolute' forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēwa*, *pēdā*, *pēk*, &c. (*v.* § 237).

## Pre- and Postpositions

§ 236. (*a*) The simple prepositions immediately precede the noun or pronoun they govern. The following are attested:

*ba* (War., Sor., Muk. also *wa*) 'to'[1]
*la* (Sor., Muk. also *da*, *ṭa*) 'at'
*a* 'to'
*bō* (Arb., Rdz., Xoš. also *la bō*, *lō*) 'for'
*tā*, *hatā* 'till'
*bē*, more commonly *ba bē* 'without'[2]
*lagal* (War. also *laǧal*, *lēl*, Sor., Muk. also *dagal*, *ṭagal*, Arb., &c., *lagar*) 'with'[3]
*baraw* 'towards'
*wak*, *wakū* (Sor., Muk. *wakī*) 'like'

[1] English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels. See § 239.

[2] Mann, Muk. § 112 end, is mistaken in considering *bē-dyā*, &c., as an abstract noun. The *-ī* is here the Obl. case ending. Cf.
Sul. — *ba bē tifaŋ rōīt*: he went without a gun
War. 254 *wa bē pādā*: without a king
An abstract is to be found, however, in
War. 271 *ba* bē-čāwī *mādō*: it was left eyeless

[3] *lagal* also occurs as a relative adverb 'when', 'as soon as', e.g.
Sul. 10 *ama* lagal *girtmān*: when we have caught this
65 lagal *dinyā rūnāk bū*: as soon as it was light

(*b*) In conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

*-awa* (War. *-ō*, Arb., &c., *-wa*)
*-dā* (Sul., War. also *-ā*,[1] Sor., Muk. also *-tā*)
*-aw-dawā* (cf. § 252 (*b*))

The commonest combinations are:

*ba . . . -dā* 'through', *la . . . -dā* 'in', *lagal . . . -dā* 'with'
*ba . . . -awa* 'with', *la . . . -awa* 'from', *a . . . -awa* 'into'
*bō . . . -awa* 'towards', *la . . . -awdawā* 'after'

and their variant dialect forms.

(*c*) The final vowel of *ba*, *la*, *da*[2] is elided before the 3rd person pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives and the adverbs *awē* 'there', *ēra* 'here', e.g.

Sul. — *bama* 'to this', *lawē* 'there', *lēra* 'here'
War. — *layra* 'here'
Sul. P *duktūr farmānī* bēra *ēta*: what has a doctor to do here?
9 law *daštaā*: in that plain
Piž. 410 daw *kuṙa čūkala*: for that little boy

but, exceptionally,

Xoš. 453 la aw *darwēša*: on that dervish

The suffix *-awa* appears as *-wa* following the vowels *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *ō* (*v.* § 171 (*c*)), e.g.

Sul. — *la ēstāwa*: from now (on)
— *la donēwa*: from yesterday

The War. form *-ō* may coalesce with preceding *a* or not, e.g.

War. 226 *law dēw qāpīakō*: on that side of the door
227 *a nāw ʾatakaō*: into the river

The suffix *-ō* may coalesce with preceding *a*, *ā* or not, e.g.

Sul. 9 *law daštaā*: in that plain
56 *la bar qāpīy aw mālā*: before the door of that house

[1] Barr (op. cit., p. 231, § 40) sees here two separate suffixes; the postposition *-dā* and an oblique case ending *-ā* = *-ā*. That this is mistaken is shown, within the *Sinaī 'Gulistān'* text under discussion, by the appearance of the *-ā* suffix after a personal pronoun suffix, viz. 100[6] *la xātir-im-ā* 'in my mind' (*v.* § 199).
[2] Also of the 'Plural Izafe' particle *da* (§ 183 (*c*)).

(*d*) *a* only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Sul. 12 čū-a *xĕwatĕkawa*: went into a tent
27 agaṙĕm-a *dwāwa*: I ahall go back
61 *lā ismā'īl*-a *dwāy xōy* xist: she put Shah Ismail behind her
62 abayt-a *dar*: thou carriest out

Only on the rare occasions when the preposition is repeated, but not the verb, does it stand independently, e.g.

War. 227 gaīšta *qarāxī Iār ā* a *dam darwāzaka*: reached the edge of the town and (came) before the gate
246 hātīna *pārīyāwla*, a *dĕy lĕx*: we came to Pariyawle, to the sheikh's village

§ 237. (*a*) Corresponding to the simple prepositions *ba* (*wa*); *la* (*da*); *a* there are the following 'absolute' forms, employed when the form governed is other than an independent noun or pronoun:[1] *pĕ*, *wĕ*; *lē*, *tē*; *ē*,[2] e.g.

Sul. 17 ba *min bilĕ* / pĕ-*m bilĕ* } tell me!
158 *xawim* ba *tôwa diwa* / *xawim* pĕwa *dīwīt* } I have seen a dream about thee

The correspondence is not, however, always regular, e.g.

Sul. 130 tĕ-*y hal dan*: thrash him!
-*yān law hal dā*: they thrashed him
— *aydam* ba *filān*: I give it to so-and-so
*aydam*-ĕ: I give it to him
Muk. 35[11] *āwirim bar bū* la *badanē*: a fire has ignited in my body
42[3] *dwirēkim* tĕ *bar bū*[w]*a*: a fire has ignited in me

*bō*, &c., and *lagal*, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(*b*) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of *ē*, stand independently and in no particular position in relation to the form they govern. Thia may be a pronoun suffix, in its

[1] See §§ 198, 229 (*b*), 235 (*b*).
[2] The recognition of *ē* as the absolute form of *a* is E.'s, *v. BSOAS*, XVII. 496, § 22. Mann, Muk. § 67, could not explain the form.

appropriate position (*v.* § 198), or a corresponding verbal ending, attached to the verb (*v.* § 229 (*b*) (ii)).

*ē*, like *a* (§ 236 (*d*)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 *xwā awlāyakī nērīnat adāt-ē*: God will give thee male offspring

(*c*) The independent absolute prepositions unite with the post-positions *-awa*, *-dā*, &c., yielding:

*pēwa* (War. *pēō*), *pēdā* (Sul., War. *pyā*)
*lēwa* (War. *lēō*)
*tēwa* (War. *tēō*), *tēdā* (Sul., War. *tyā*)
*lagaldā* (Sul. *lagalā*, War. *lēlā*, &c.)

With a personal pronoun suffix *-m*, *-t*, *-y*, &c., the Sul., War. forms *pyā* (:*pēdā*), *tyā* (:*tēdā*) yield *pyā-m-ā*, *pyā-t-ā*, *pyā-y-ā*, &c., *tyā-m-ā*, &c., i.e. with repetition of the suffix *-ā* (cf. Sor. *pē-y-dā tē-y-dā*, &c.), e.g.

Sul. — *awānay ka* tyāyān: those who are inside it
P *bazaīm* pyātā *hātuwa*: I have taken pity on thee
Hal. — *sirēšakam hal swī* pyāyā: I spread the glue on it

Corresponding to the groups 'preposition + cardinal *yak*' the absolute forms *pēk*, *wēk*, *lēk*, *tēk* appear, e.g.

Sul. 20 *ba yakawa*
*pēkawa* (War. *pēkō*, Arb. *pēkwa*) } together

Sul. — *kā w dānakay* la yak *jyā akātawa*
Bin. 313 *kā w dānakay* lēk *judā dakātawa* } he separates the chaff and the grain of it from one another

(*d*) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēwa*, *pēdā*, *pēk*, &c., may function as preverbs (§ 235 (*b*)).

The simple prepositions are generally 'separable' preverbs, i.e. they may appear either in the absolute form, immediately preceding the verb, or, if an indirect object is expressed, in their simple form immediately preceding the word(s) governed, e.g.

Sul. — *lē-y dā*: he struck (at) it (*la*/*lē dān*)
5 la *dargā-y dā*: he knocked at the door

They may, however, be 'inseparable', i.e. always appear immediately preceding the verb in their absolute form, e.g.

Sul. — *pē akanī*: he was laughing (*pē kanīn*)
— *pē-y pē akanī*: he was laughing at him (*ba|pē pē kanīn*)
— *ba kuṙaka pē akanī*: he was laughing at the boy

The derivatives are generally inseparable, e.g.

Sul. — *Ḥakay* tēk *dā*: he spoilt the work (*tēk dān*)
Muk. MS. *pō* tēwa *dān*: to insert the weft (*tēwa dān*)

§ 238. The simple prepositions, with or without a postposition, form compound prepositions with nouns, particularly of place, and less commonly with adjectives. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with the function of a preposition. The nominal form may, in certain cases, varying according to dialect, be followed by the Izafe, and in any case may be considered as being in genitive relation with the form governed (*v.* § 198).

Examples. Noun

Sul. — *la pišt dāraka*: behind the tree
11 *ba sar sarī kuṙā*: over the boy's head
56 *la bar qāpīy aw mālā*: before the door of that house
86 *ba taništ hayāsawa*: next to Heyas
War. 195 *la pāš awa*: after that
204 *la pēš aw*: before him
219 *pāš čil šaw*: after forty nights
Bin. 323 *ba dim baḥrēdā*: by the sea
325 *ṙa sar malikšāy*: upon Melikshah
355 *wa dast ma kawē*: falls into our hands

Noun + Izafe

Sul. — *la (mā)baynī dū panjaradā*: between two windows
— *la bardamī xānūaka*: before the house
War. 195 *la pāšī awa*: after that
204 *la pēšī awā*: before him

Adjective

Muk. 7[10] *nizīk mirdinita*: it is near thy death(-hour)

§ 239. The meaning of prepositions is idiomatic and a matter of lexicon (*v.* E., *BSOAS*, XVII. 494 ff.). Two particular features may, however, be noted.

(*a*) *la* (. . . *-dā*) 'at, in (*of place*)' appears with certain nouns, usually in conjunction with the ending *-ān*, with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Sul. — la *ṙiqāndā*: in anger
62 la *xōšīānā*: for joy
74 la *tīnūā*: with thirst
87 la *tirsānā*: from fear
Muk. $2^{26}$ la *birsān*: of hunger
$6^{31}$ la *tirsān*: from fear
$10^{38}$ la *šarmān*: for shame

That this is the plural morpheme *-ān* (§ 177) is suggested by the following example with Pl. Izafe (§ 183 (*c*)),

Piž. 404 la *tirsī* da *S.*: from fear of S.

(See also § 304).

An ending *-ān*, perhaps to be distinguished from the plural morpheme, is seen also in

Sul. — *la pāšānā*: afterwards
Bin. 311, Muk. $1^{5}$ *la pāšān*: afterwards
Arb. 416, Rdz. 483 *la pāšdān*: afterwards (**pāš-dā*-ān)

This may be compared with the adverbial *-ān* seen in

Sul. — *ba zistānān pīna w paṙō, ba hāwīnān wurd wurd biṙō*: in winter (it is) patches and rags, in summer go slowly (to show off your finery)
123 *la fārān čāktir*: better than formerly

It is noteworthy that this adverbial *-ān* may appear in conjunction with a preposition.

(*b*) Very rarely an absolute preposition (§ 237 (*a*)) is omitted without otherwise altering the construction. A personal pronoun suffix can then be said to have dative force (*v.* § 197 (*b*) (v)), e.g.

Sul. 10 *hatā mumkin*mān *abē* } as far as it may be possible
*hatā* bōmān *mumkīn bibē* } for us

By the same token the Indirect Affectee of the Agential construction, appearing in the form of a verbal ending (§ 229 (*b*) (ii)), may be unsupported by a preposition, e.g.

Sul. E *yārīayān dāwim* (= *dāwim-ē*): they have given me help

## Adverbial Suffixes

**§ 240.** Three adverbial suffixes merit particular mention.

(*a*) In Sor., Muk. an adverbial ending *-ē* (*-ī*) occurs. It is identical in form with the Obl. case ending *-ē* (*-ī*) (§ 180), e.g.

Piž. 380 *pār bahārē*: last spring
384 *aw šaway*: that night
397 *hamū waxtēkī*: at all times
Piž. 399, Muk. 10[10] *rōžēkī*: one day
Muk. 4[36] *awē šawē*: that night

and, with a preposition,

Bin. 320 *hāta xwārē*: came down
Muk. 10[12] *rōina žūrē*: went inside

The form *-ē* appears occasionally in Sul., where it cannot be equated with an Oblique case form, except possibly as a fossil form, e.g.

Sul. 14 *bō mālē*: towards home
32 *šawē*: at night

With prepositions, however, the normal Sul. formation is with the suffix *-awa*, e.g.

Sul. 12 *hāta darawa*: came outside
15 *bō mālawa*: towards home

(*b*) A suffix *-ī* appears to form a type of distributive adverb with the numeral *yak* and (attested in War. only) with nouns signifying periods of time, e.g.

War. 205 yakī *sē šasmyān girtīn*: they took three photos of each one of us
257 yakī *dasē barğī bō dirus kird*: he made a suit of clothes for each one
Muk. 24[17] yakī *kurēkyān dabē*: each one will have a son
War. 193 *rōžī dū ḫaywān, sē ḫaywān akuštn*: each day we kill two or three animals
234 *agar rōžī . . . gōštī lē biwīrī*: if each day thou cuttest flesh from him
269 *sālī karatē*: once each year

(*c*) -(*ī*)*š* 'also, even'[1] may be suffixed to either a nominal or a verbal form. The form -*š* is normal following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 13 *amaš*: this too
41 *ēmaš*: we too

In War., however, and as an exceptional form in Sul., -*yš* appears in postvocalic position, e.g.

Sul. 74 *bō xōyšī*: for himself
War. 197 *xwāyš*: God also

In order of suffixation -*īš* always precedes a personal pronoun suffix. Thus when suffixed to a nominal form it has the position *J* in the order Sul., &c., A B C D (E) *J* G H,
War. A B C *J* G H D (*v.* § 199).

Examples: Sul., &c.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| AJ | Muk. | 99[11] | *kostānakaš*: the highlands too |
| BJG | Muk. | 89[18] | *žinānīšū*: your women too |
| CJ | Sul. | P | *la lāyakawa . . . la lāyakišawa . . .*: on the one hand . . . on the other hand also . . . |
| CJG | Sul. | — | *kuřēkišim la karkūka*: one of my sons also is in Kirkuk |
| DJ | Sul. | 76 | *am dū kičayš*: these two girls also |
| EJ | Muk. | 87[26] | *xānzādaxānēš . . . dēnim*: I shall bring Kh. too |
| JG | Sul. | — | *xōšī*: he himself |
| JH | Sul. | 52 | *agar ajalīši nahēnāwim*: if on the other hand Thou hast not brought (the hour of) my death |

*Wārmāwa*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| JD | War. | 200 | *aw bağzāḍayša*: that begzade too |
| | | 267 | *awīša*: that too |

With a verbal form it is suffixed to the first of whichever of the following possible components is present (*v.* § 198 (iv)), preceding any personal pronoun suffix: (α) a preverb, (β) a negative or modal affix, (γ) the verbal stem or participle.

Examples:

(α) Sul. — *lēšī būrd*: he forgave him also
— *tēkīšim dā*: I have spoilt it too

[1] Cf. *Sinat -īš, -yš*, e.g. Mokri, Songs 231, *xwayčim* 'I too'.

(β) Sul. P *ašināsim*: I know him too
P *agar našhātimawa*: and if I do not come back
Muk. 33[17] *dašlbaynawa*: even if we take her back
(γ) Sul. P *agar hātīšimawa*: and if I do come back
P *kawtīšawa bīrī*: he remembered also
P *agar mirduwša*: even if he has died (*v.* § 213)

## B. SYNTAX

### Emphasis

**§ 241.** In the Agential construction the Agent generally appears at the beginning of the sentence and syntactically outside it, i.e. it is not essential to the main construction and must be resumed by the Agential suffix within the sentence (*v.* § 223). There is thus no particular emphasis on an Agent expressed by a nominal form.

A similar construction with verbs in the present tense, however, gives emphasis to the nominal form so isolated, which may be either the direct or indirect object or the complement of the subject. It is then resumed within the sentence by a personal pronoun suffix, e.g.

Sul. — pašīmānān, *šāxyān lē bīrwāya*: those with regrets, if horns were to grow on them . . .
10 ama, *zōr ḫayfa biykužīn*: this, it is a great pity that we should kill it
26 pāšā, *čāwī dar ē*: the king, may his eyes come out
War. 188 min, *nāwim nāmīqa*: I, my name is Namiq

In Sor., when the nominal form so removed from the main phrase requires it, it appears in the Obl. case, e.g.

Bin. 353 xwājā kāwusī, *najūmī habū*: Khwaja Kawus, he had a horoscope
Piž. 385 tūtinakay, *nētekōli hāt*: the tobacco, its weeds came
398 *žinēkī habū*, aw kumāndāray: he had a wife, that commander

### Concord

**§ 242.** (*a*) The concord between subject and verb is generally straightforward, i.e. a singular subject takes a singular verb and a subject with the plural morpheme *-ān* takes a plural verb.

(*b*) A simple noun with generic plural sense (§ 173) may take either a singular or a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. — *dānī am kuṙa sixa/sixin*: this boy's teeth are close together
E *lēra šēr xóra*: there are many lions here
9 *āsik . . . alawatān*: gazelles were grazing
Muk. 87[2] *žin dayalin*: women are treacherous
178[17] *ṭāwkar būgirin*: may hunters catch you

(*c*) Two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and' or the prepositions *lagal* (. . . *-dā*), *ba* . . . *-awa*, &c., 'with' constitute a plural subject taking a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 *min ū tō ṙartēk akayn*: I and thou, (we) shall make a bond
21 *pāšā* ba *istiqbālēkī ǰwānawa . . . čūn*: the king, with a fine reception committee, (they) went
63 *kuṙ* lagal *pīrēžin hātin*: the boy, with the old woman, (they) came
Muk. 24[9] dagal *wazīrī xōy hal stān, ṙōin*: he, with his viziers, (they) set off and went
138[24] *hātūn . . . qarawāš ū māmānčī*: maids and nurses have come

In Bin., Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 28) two nouns joined by *ū* may take the plural ending *-ān*, e.g.

Bin. 340 *awo bit ū salamāna*: those idols (*bit*, *salam*)
369 *gwēy law qisa w bāsānaya*: he hears these sayings (*qisa*, *bās*)
Muk. 66[4] *bāzin ū gwārān bistēnē*: takes bracelets and earrings (*bāzin*, *gwāra*)
112[26] *la tirsī šīr ū xanǰarān*: from fear of swords and daggers (*šīr*, *xanǰar*)

or the plural Izafe *-ī da* (§ 183 (*c*)), e.g.

Bin. 349 *dāk ū bābī da tō*: thy mother and father

A noun with the meaning 'one of many' may take a plural verb, e.g.

War. 213 *hatâ* yakēktān . . . *bimēnin*: as long as one of you remain

(*d*) The Direct Affectee of the Agential construction, if it be plural, is nevertheless represented by a 3rd Sg. verbal ending in Sul., e.g.

Sul. — *minālakānī nwān*: she put the children to bed
— *sagakānī kušt*: he killed the dogs

In Sor., Muk., on the contrary, the verbal ending is commonly plural, even when the noun is not marked by the plural morpheme *-ān*, e.g.

Piž. 380 māl*in bār kird*in: we loaded up (our) property
380 farš*mān lē r̄ā xist*in: we spread carpets in it
382 šitilakān*im dāšt*in: I watered the seedlings
Muk. 2[32] hamūy*ān qatlū-'āmm kird*in: they massacred everybody
Rdz. 478 harsēk*ī girt*in: he captured all three

There appears to be a distinction between animate and inanimate in

Bin. 332 *ćand* wulāx*ī ćākī bō kir̄ī*n: he bought him some fine horses
*ćand* šīr*ī ćākī bō kir̄ī*: he bought him some fine swords

## Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 243. (*a*) In Sul., War. the inflexible particle *ka* serves to introduce both relative and subordinate clauses. The former may be either descriptive, e.g.

Sul. E *salāḫadīn*, ka *dinyāy girt*: Saladin, who conquered the world, . . .
9 *am āsikāna*, ka *wā alawar̄ēn*: these gazelles, which are grazing thus, . . .

or restrictive, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw āsikayān* ka *wā tawqēkī āltūnī la milāya*: that gazelle which has a collar of gold round its neck . . .

In Sor. and Muk. *ka* is commonly replaced by other particles.

To introduce a descriptive relative clause *wakū* appears in Bin., Piž.,[1] *har ka* in Arb., *agar* in Muk., e.g.

Bin. 327 *žin* . . . wakū *malikay faxrūtānja*: (his) wife, who is Queen Fakhrutaj, . . .

Arb. 418 *pālāy mīsr*, har ka *'azīzī mīsrē būt*: the king of Egypt, who was Aziz of Egypt, . . .

Muk. § 44 *xulā*, agar *amin ū tāy ba rōžay hēnāwa*: God, who created me and you, . . .

To introduce a restrictive clause, and in the other functions of *ka*, viz. introducing a subordinate clause and as an adverb 'when', *agar* appears in Bin.,[2] Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 44), *har ka*, *wakī* in Arb., (*wa*)*kū* in Muk., Rdz., Xoš., e.g.

Bin. 323 *aw mawqīhay*[3] agar . . . *lēy lā dā būn*: that place at which they had landed

336 *agar xwēndīawa* . . . *dazānē* agar *kurī N. nīa*: when he read it he knew that he was not the son of N.

348 *tēy gaī mazbūt* agar *qisakay kirdibū* (for **qisaka(y)*[3] agar *kirdibūy*): she understood perfectly what he had said

Muk. 2[12] *bō xātir awukū* (for **awa* kū) . . . *bizānin*: so that they should think . . .

Arb. 424 *wīstī* bar ka *qisay lagar bikā*: he wanted to speak with her

429 wakī *ganimī* . . . *tē dakan*: when you are pouring in wheat

Xoš. 459 *ćī wasāyak nīa* . . . kū *amin swār bibim*: is there no horse that I may mount?

(*b*) When a relative clause is restrictive and immediately follows an antecedent which is either defined by the suffix *-aká* (§ 174) or a demonstrative adjective, or is a pronoun, then the relative clause may be introduced by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. — *aw kitēbay dām xistuwa*, *halī*[4] *gīra*,

[1] In Sul. this is probably restricted to 'story-tellers' ' style, e.g. Sul. 47 *kuŕ*, wakū *lā ismā'īl bē*: the boy, who is Shah Ismail . . .

[2] *kē* once in Bin., v. p. 83, fn. 3.

[3] *-y* Izafe, *v.* (*b*) below. [4] See § 241.

but *aw kitēba hal gira* ka *dām xistuwa*: pick up that book which I have thrown down
13 *away tō dīwita*: that which thou hast seen
Muk. § 46 *aw mīwānakay hātibū*: the guest who had come
Arb. 414 *aw xawnay aw jāra gērātawa*: that dream which you related then

The particle *ka*, &c., may appear with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 9 *awānay* ka *wā alawaṙēn ba ǰyā*: those which are grazing apart
Piž. 408 *aw kāšēla saray* ka . . . *hēnābūyawa*: that skull which he had brought back

An extension of this is to be seen in such conjunctional phrases as

Sul. 31 *la sar ama ka kuṙ . . . dāwāy minī kird, . . . la sar away* ka *aw gāwira*: because the boy asked for (my hand), . . . because he is an infidel

## Use of Tenses

§ 244. (*a*) The Present Indicative has both habitual and actual present meaning, e.g.

Sul. — *mizgawt bē malā* nābē: there is no mosque without a mullah (no rose without a thorn)
— *xalqī kāyazī sipī* axwēnētawa: people read (evil into) white (i.e. blank) paper
— *āsinī sārd* akutē: he is striking cold iron
— *har nān* axōm: I am just eating
2 *tō ēī* akay *lēra*: what art thou doing here?

(*b*) The adverb *wā* 'thus' gives a sense of a state or action in progress,[1] e.g.

[1] In War. the forms *wā* and (*h*)*ā* give a similar sense in the absence of the normal substantive verb, e.g.

War. — *ēdwim wā tē*: I see it (my eye is on it)
199 *wā wa damānē*: it (is) in our possession
269 *hā la xwārnd*: (they are) on the point of being eaten
271 *bardī hā wa sar ǰānē*
273 *bardē ā wa sar ǰānē* } (there is) a rock on her shoulder

Sul. — wā-y *la ko*: where art thou?
— wā-m *lēra*: here I am
9 *am āsikāna ka* wā alawafēn: these gazelles which are grazing
9 *aw āsikayān ka* wā *tawqēkī ālтūnī la milāya*: that one of them which has a collar of gold round its neck

(*c*) The Present tense is also used for Future time, e.g.

Sul. 10 *ba das* aygirīn: we shall take it by hand
16 *čī talab akay* atdamē: whatever thou seekest I shall give thee
58 amkužē: she will kill me

(*d*) In narrative it may alternate with the simple Past tense, e.g.

Sul. 1 *pāšāyak* abē . . . *nəž* akā . . . alē . . . *la bar* kird . . . *rūy* kirda *lāx*: there is a king . . . he prays . . . he says . . . he put on (clothes) . . . he turned towards the mountains
16 *kuṛ āmōzāyakī* . . . abē . . . wuti . . . čū: the boy has a cousin . . . she said . . . she went . . .
27 *lēy* dā, *ṭōl*, *kuṛ* — wā *kuṛ* aṛwā: the boy set off and went — lo, he is going —
Bin. 378 *agar wa žūr* kawt *tamāšā* dakā: when he entered he sees . . .

§ 245. The Present Subjunctive is used:

(*a*) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Sul. 4 *wā ǰwāna nāwēkī* bixayna *sar*: it is good that we should give him a name
7 *sənī dām . . . ka nāwī zāyir* nakam: he made me swear that I would not disclose his name
80 *dā nawī, qāčī māč* kā: he bent down to kiss his foot

(*b*) with injunctive force, e.g.

Sul. — *bākē, gəṛ lē* bē: daughter-in-law, pay thou heed
10 *ba girtin* hiygirīn: let us catch it by hand
11 *ēwa lēra dā* binīšin: let ye sit down here

(*c*) following the particle *bā* 'let . . .', and *abē*, &c., 'must' (*v.* § 221, with examples).

(*d*) following certain verbs, e.g.

Sul. 4 *nātwānim . . . nāwī* binēm: I cannot name him (*twānīn*)
27 *amawē . . . tarēk . . .* bidam: I want to visit . . . (*wīstin*)
35 *nayānwērā* bēn: they durst not come (*wērān*)
55 *nāēlim . . .* bīrōy: I shall not let thee go (*hēštin*)

§ 246. (*a*) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense describing a single action in the past, e.g.

Sul. 5 *tāq yakēk la dargāy* dā: someone knocked at the door
5 čūn, *dargāyān* kirdawa: they went and opened the door
43 *šawēk lawē* būm: I was there one night
43 *bayānī* hātim *bō lāy ēwa*: in the morning I came to you

(*b*) The Past tense is also used for a recently perfected action, e.g.

Sul. — *yakēkim* škān: I have (just) broken one
— *la pāš away ka mnālakānī* nwān: after she had put the children to bed
22 *šexul'arabim* bēnā *w* hātīn: I have brought the Sheikh of the Arabs and we have come
38 *halim gira*, fawtām: take me up, I have perished
43 *tō* čūyta *xānāy ēma*: hast thou been to our house?

A long completed action is expressed by the perfect or pluperfect tenses, e.g.

Perfect

Sul. P *la bātī insān mirīlkēkyān swār* kirduwa: instead of a man they mounted a ben (in Montgolfier's balloon)
13 *la mamlakatī xōy* tōrāwa, hātōta *ēra*: she has tired of her own country and come here

Pluperfect

Sul. — *ka čūma lāy mnālakānī* nwānibū: when I went to (see) her she had put the children to bed
Muk. 25[10] *awrō . . . sar-ū-pēy . . .* nārdibū: today she (had) sent a stew

(*c*) Corresponding to the narrative use of the Present Indicative (§ 244 (*d*)) the Perfect tense may also appear to indicate pluperfect action, e.g.

War. 201 *amānawē das bikayn wa istrāḥat kirdin wa mawqīḥēkmān bō aw dyārī* kirdiğa: we wanted to set about resting and we had appointed a place for it

§ 247. (*a*) The Imperfect tense indicates a continuous, prolonged, repeated, or habitual action in the past,[1] e.g.

Sul. 9 *tamāšāy aw daštay* akird, *čāwī kawt ba āsik la nāw bāxčkā* alawaṙān: he was scanning that plain (when) he saw some gazelles grazing in a garden
15 *duxtūryān* abirda *sar*: they kept on taking doctors to him
38 *dənē ba mintān* awut: yesterday you kept on saying to me . . .
179 *rādyō nabū, gəmān la grāmafōn* agirt: there was no radio, we used to listen to the gramophone

(*b*) The Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (*v.* § 249 (*a*)) and in suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Sul. — *kāškī amdī, dū qisan lagalā* akird: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would have a word or two with him!

## Conditions

§ 248. Present, possible conditions.

(*a*) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive appears, e.g.

Sul. 2 *agar tō amam lagal* bikay: if thou dost this with me
16 *agar* bēt *ū tō* bizānī: if it should happen and thou shouldst discover . . .
65 *kuṙ xabar* bikaytawa: if thou wakest the boy
72 *am sē kiča māra* nakam: if I do not marry these three girls

Bin. 324 *lēra baw lāwa* biṙōy: if thou goest hence in that direction
361 *nēwī xōt ba min* nalčy: if thou dost not tell me thy name

generally followed, in the apodosis, by the Present Indicative, e.g.

[1] In Arb. the Imperfect appears exceptionally as the narrative past tense, e.g.
Arb. 430 *awān* daṙōyštin, *katā nīwaṙē* dagaṙānawa: they set off and went half of the way back
431 *awāna čāwyān ṙōn* dabōwa: their eyes regained sight

Sul. — *min bim la ẏyātī tō nān* nāxōm: if I were you I would not eat anything

— *agar bičī bō lāy* nātnāsim: if thou goest to see him I shall have nothing to do with thee

Occasionally the Present Indicative appears in the protasis, e.g.

War. 263 *hal* asī . . . *aṭbasim, hal* nāsī . . . *awkužim:* if thou arisest I shall tie thee up, if thou dost not I shall kill thee

(*b*) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Sul. — *agar* dīt *pēy bilē:* if thou seest him tell him

28 *agar* hātī *la dwāmā . . . amdōzītawa:* if thou comest after me thou wilt find me

58 *agar* hāt *ū* mirdī . . . *atnēžim*: if it should happen and thou shouldst die I shall bury thee

War. — *aǧar* hāṯ *pēy bēža*: if he comes tell him

— *aǧar* čūy *bō silēmānī:* if thou goest to Suleimaniye (please do something for me)

*ka* nayčūy *awā hīč:* if thou dost not go, no matter

266 *tēy* gayānim *nāykužim*: if I make him understand then I shall not kill him

Bin. 350 *agar* hātimawa *čāka:* if I return all is well

*Note. agar, ka* in the sense of 'as, since' are generally followed by the Indicative, e.g.

Sul. 2 *agar* azānī *min pādām*: since thou knowest I am king

58 *ka mādam wāya ḫāzirim*: since it is so I am ready

§ 249. Past, impossible conditions.

(*a*) The Past Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Imperfect tense in the apodosis, e.g.

Sul. — *agar dənē law* bihātitāya *ēra xāmit* adī: if thou hadst come here last night thou wouldst have seen Khan

— *agar la jēgāy tō* būmāya *am īšam bāštir* akird: had I been in thy place I would have done this job better

— *am īšat waḥā* bikirdāya *čāktir* abū: it would have been better hadst thou done this job thus

War. — *aǧar tāpiṭim pē* wāya *lēm* akuštin: had I had a shotgun with me I would have killed some of them

234 *tō aǧar āqil* būytāya naakawtita *ayraō*: hadst thou had any sense thou wouldst not have got here

Bin. 331 *aǧar atū dāk* nabūyāya . . . *mistēkim* . . . dadā: hadst thou not been my mother I would bave punched (thee)

377 *aǧar amin* bitirsāmāya . . . nadahātim: had I been afraid I would not have come

(*b*) The Imperfect tense may occasionally appear in the protasis, e.g.

War. 219 *aǧar asp ū čakim* abū *ba lāō*: if I but had a horse and arms with me

(*c*) In Sor., Muk. the Perfect Conditional tense, in any of its forms, may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Bin. 337 *aǧar zūt pē* bigutābāmāya: if thou hadst told me sooner

Piž. — *aǧar pēt* bigutbāmāya } if thou hadst told me
391 *aǧar ba minit* bigutbā }

Muk. § 84 *aǧar aw waxta* nahātibām: if I had not come then

Arb. — nahātibān *intizārim dakirdin*: if you had not come I would have waited for you

§ 250. (*a*) In general the distinction between Subjunctive and Indicative Perfect tenses in conditional sentences is governed by the element of doubt, e.g.

Sul. — *aǧar* bātuwa *xabarim bidarē*: if (you know) he has come tell me

— *aǧar* hātibē *wara, pēm bilē*: if be should have come, come and tell me

— *aǧar* diṙānibētī *čāwī dar ahēnim*: if he should bave torn it I'll have his eyes out!

52 *aǧar aǰali* hēnāwim: if Thou hast brought my deathhour

In War., however, only the Perfect Indicative is attested (*v.* § 215 (*a*) fn.), e.g.

War. — *aǧar* diṙīwīatī *čāwī dar tērim*: if he has torn it I'll have his eyes out!

— *ağar āğiraka* kužyāğatō *naxtē dārī bixara sar*: if the fire has died down put a little wood on it

(*b*) The Pluperfect may appear in the protasis instead of the Perfect Subjunctive when the action of the apodosis must follow it in time (cf. § 248 (*b*)), e.g.

Sul. 42 *agar xānū* rūxābū *xuškitim bō sar biṛa*: if the house has been destroyed decapitate thy sister for me

§ **251**. The particles *xōzga* (Muk. § 83 *xōzīā*), *biryā*, *kāškī* 'would that . . .'.

(*a*) When these particles introduce a wish still possible of realization they are normally followed by the Imperfect tense, e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga* ahāt } I wish he would come
Muk. § 83 *biryā* dahāt }
Sul. — *kāškī* amdī: I wish I could meet him

A subordinate verb following such a wish appears in the Past Conditional, rather than the Present Subjunctive (cf. § 245 (*d*)), e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga amtwānī* bičūmāya *mālawa*: I wish I could go home
(cf. § 221 (*a*), *abwāya kuṛ* bwāya)

(*b*) When the wish is impossible of realization the Past Conditional tense is used (in Muk. also the Perfect Conditional), e.g.

Sul. — *xōzga am kābrāyam* nadīāya: I wish I had never seen this fellow
— *kāškī donē* bimdīāya: I wish I had seen him yesterday
— *sad biryā* bimtwānīāya *bičima mālawa*: would a hundred times that it had been possible for me to go home
[cf. — *ḫazim akird amat bō* hikirdimāya: I wish you had done this for me (would have liked you to do this)
P *zōr ārazūmān akird* . . . bihātītāyawa . . . *balām nahātītawa*: we very much wanted you to come back, but you did not]

Muk. 116[25] *biryā amin sēwēk* bām . . . kawtibām . . . bihātināyawa, *aminyān hal* bigirtāyawa: would that I had been an apple, . . . that I had fallen . . . that they had come back and had picked me up

## C. WORD FORMATION

*(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Sul. only)*

### Compounds

§ **252.** Copulative compounds are of three types.

(*a*) The commonest consists of two related nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction *ū*, *w* 'and' into a syntactical whole, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *bažn-ū-bālā* | 'stature' |
| *dam-ū-čāw* | 'face' (mouth and eye) |
| *daŋ-ū-bās* | 'news' (noise and talk) |
| *dirō-w-dalasa* | 'deception' (lies and deception) |
| *das-ū-pil* | 'hand and fingers' |
| *hāt-ū-čū* | 'traffic' (coming and going) |
| *hāt-ū-nahāt* | 'luck' (coming and not-coming) |
| *narm-ū-šil* | 'soft and flabby' |
| *řēgā-w-bān* | 'highroad' (road and plateau) |
| *taŋ-ū-čalama* | 'trouble' (tight and collar-bone [*sic*]) |

Less commonly one member is merely a rhyme of the other, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ēsk-ū-prūsk* | 'body' (bone, skeleton and spark) |
| *čāw-ū-řāw* | 'deception' (eye and hunting) |
| *jē-w-řē* | 'accommodation' (place and way) |
| *řēk-ū-pēk* | 'regular, tidy' (tidy and together) |
| *šil-ū-mil* | 'loose' (flabby and neck) |

(*b*) Two members may, alternatively, be joined by a simple preposition, or an equivalent morpheme having no separate identity. The resulting compound may be a noun, adjective, or adverb, e.g.

*-aw-* (cf. postposition *-aw-dwā*, § 236 (*b*))

| | |
|---|---|
| *dam-aw-nuxūn* | 'inverted' (face towards inverted) |
| *dast-aw-ǎnō* | 'depressed' (hand towards knee) |
| *pāš-aw-pāš* | 'backwards' |

*-ăw-*

| | |
|---|---|
| *čaɬn-ăw-čaɬn* | 'various' (kind to kind) |
| *gōš-ăw-gōš* | 'from ear to ear' (NP. *gōš* 'ear') |
| *pēč-ăw-pēč* | 'winding' (turn to turn) |
| *ɬaŋ-ăw-ɬaŋ* | 'various' (colour to colour) |

*ba*

| | |
|---|---|
| *das-ba-jē* | 'immediately' (hand to place) |
| *haprūn-ba-haprūn* | 'in pieces' (piece to piece) |
| *jē-ba-jē* | 'in place, in effect' (place to place) |

*baraw* (i.e. *bar-aw-* 'front towards . . .')

| | |
|---|---|
| *sar-baraw-xwāra* | 'declivity' (head towards downwards) |

(*c*) Two repeated parts, particularly verbal stems, may form a compound, either noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *anjin-anjin* | 'chopped fine' (chop chop) |
| *pičīr-pičīr* | 'separately' (bit bit) |
| *tīk-tik* | 'drip by drip' |

An important subsection of this type is formed by morphemes of 'noise', e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *jirīwa-jirīw* | 'chirping' |
| *qāspa-qāsp* | 'clucking (of partridge)' |
| *xirta-xirt* | 'knocking' |

The final *-a-* of the first element is not merely a compound vowel. The first element frequently appears alone with the same meaning as the compound, e.g. *jirīwa*, *qāspa*, &c.

**§ 253.** Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive.

(*a*) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(*i*) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relationship to it, generally genitive. Such compounds appear with the qualifier

preceding the qualified, or inverted, and in either case with or without a compound vowel *-a-*, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ōstā-žin* | 'craftsman's wife' |
| *birā-žin* | 'brother's wife, sister-in-law' |
| *čēšt-anǰāw* | '(mid-morning) mealtime' |
| *dēw-ǰāma* | 'huntsman's patchwork camouflage shield' (demon-dress) |
| *maraza-ǰār* | 'rice patch' |

and, with the compound vowel,

| | |
|---|---|
| *būm-a-larza* | 'earthquake' |
| *hawr-a-birūska, -tirūqa* | 'lightning' (cloud-lightning) |
| *nargis-a-ǰār* | 'field of narcissi' |

Inverted,

| | |
|---|---|
| *čāl-āw* | 'well' (pit of water) |
| *hiza-tōn* | 'skin bag' (bag for clarified butter) |
| *kilāfa-dazū* | 'skein of cotton' |
| *kāra-hanǰ* | 'beehive' (hive for bees) |

and, with the compound vowel,

| | |
|---|---|
| *čapik-a-gul* | 'bouquet of flowers' |
| *čarm-a-gā* | 'oxhide' |
| *danik-a-ǰō* | 'barleycorn' |
| *gul-a-bāx* | 'rose' (flower of garden) |
| *gul-a-ganim* | 'ear of wheat' |
| *kilk-a-bēl* | 'spade handle' (tail of spade) |
| *kun-a-lūt* | 'nostril' (hole of nose) |

(ii) A verbal stem, present or past, restricted by a preceding object, or complement, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Present: | *bā-walēn* | 'fan' (wind-waver) |
| | *barg-dirū* | 'tailor' (clothes-sewer) |
| | *bizin-miž* | '"goat-sucker" lizard' |
| | *dār-firōš* | 'wood-seller' |
| | *mōr-halkan* | 'seal-engraver' |
| | *pyāw-kuž* | 'murderer' (man-killer) |
| | *sar-tāš* | 'barber' (head-shaver) |
| | *xwn-rēž* | 'bloodthirsty' (blood-spiller) |
| | *zōr-zān* | 'shrewd' (much-knower) |

*Note.* With the defective present stem *-lē-* the modal affix *bi-* is also present in *zōr-bilē* 'talkative' (much-talker).

Past: *dast-kird* 'hand-made'
*dast-kawt* 'income' (hand-fallen)
*sūraw(a)-kirāw* 'baked' (red-made)[1]

(*b*) Descriptive compounds consist of a noun qualified either by a noun in apposition or an adjective. When the qualifier is a noun in apposition it may precede the noun qualified, e.g.

*čilk-āw* 'foul water' (dirt-water)
*šā-ṙag* 'jugular (king-) vein'
*šā-haŋ* 'queen bee'

and, with the compound vowel *-a-*,

*sāl-a-waxt* 'a year's time'

Commonly, however, it follows the qualified noun, e.g.

*dār-hanār, -xurmā* 'pomegranate, date tree'
*galā-mēw, -tūtin* 'vine-, tobacco-leaf'

and, with the compound vowel,

*būk-a-šūša* 'doll' (bride—glass)
*dār-a-ban* 'terebinth tree'

When the qualifier is an adjective the compound is also normally inverted and of the 'open' type, e.g.

*bizin-a-kēwī* 'mountain goat'
*qārčik-a-mārāna* 'toadstool' (mushroom—snaky)

&c., *ad infinitum* (*v.* § 185). A few uninverted compounds do occur, e.g.

*farīk-a-nōk* 'unripe chick-pea'
*kawn-a-fāḥīša* 'old whore' (abuse; otherwise *kōn* 'old')
*mizir-a-sēw* 'tart apple'
*narm-a-zīn* 'saddle-cloth' (soft-saddle)

Cf. Muk. § 31,

*garm-a-šīn* 'bitter (hot) lamentation'
*nāsk-a-tīr* 'fine arrow'

[1] From *sūr kirdinawa*. The appearance of the 'postverb' *-awa* (§ 235 (*a*)) suffixed to the *word preceding* the verb is a characteristic of the *Sinaī* and more southern dialects.

**§ 254.** Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(*a*) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with adjectival meaning, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *bad-kār* | 'evil-doer' (bad-work) |
| *dū-rū* | 'two-faced, hypocritical' |
| *gardin-bilūr* | 'with a throat (translucent as) crystal' |
| *girān-bā* | 'expensive' (dear-price) |
| *kawa-rōž* | 'overclouded' (grey-day) |

and, with the compound vowel,

| | |
|---|---|
| *kurt-a-bālā* | 'short' (short-stature) |

They are more commonly inverted, without compound vowel, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ešik-sūk, -qurs* | 'handsome, ugly' (bone-light, -heavy) |
| *bālā-barz* | 'tall' (stature-tall) |
| *čāw-šin* | 'blue-eyed' |
| *dil-taŋ* | 'sad' (heart-tight) |
| *dil-taŕ* | 'sentimental' (heart-damp) |
| *dāwēn-pīs* | 'licentious' (skirt, hem-dirty) |
| *hanāsa-sārd* | 'despairing' (breath-cold) |
| *kayf-xōš* | 'happy' (spirits-pleasant) |
| *sar-garm* | 'eager' (head-hot) |

(*b*) The prepositions *ba, bē* form an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ba* | *ba-gə* | 'obedient' (with ear) |
| | *ba-ǰē* | 'fitting' (in place) |
| | *ba-kār* | 'useful' (with work) |
| | *ba-xanaw* | 'drowsy' (with sleep) |
| *bē* | *bē-gə* | 'disobedient' (without ear) |
| | *bē-hōš* | 'unconscious' |
| | *bē-qazā* | 'unharmed' (without accident) |

### Suffixes

**§ 255.** The following suffixes form nouns:

(*a*) Abstract

*-ī* forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

*āgāddārī* 'care', *āsānī* 'ease', *āškirāī* 'obviousness', *bālī* 'emptiness', *čōlī* 'desertedness', *gawrāī* 'greatness', *kurtī* 'shortness', *xōlī* 'pleasure'.

With adjectives of measure, &c., it alternates with

*-āī*, (*-āyatī*), e.g.

*astūrī, astūrāī* 'thickness', *barzī, -āī* 'height', *-dirēžī, -āī* 'length', *garmī, -āī* 'warmth', *qūlī, -āī* 'depth', *bilindī, bilindāyatī* 'height'.

With other adjectives it frequently alternates with

*-yatī* > *-ētī*, e.g.

*āzādī, āzāyatī* 'bravery', *bandaī, bandayatī* 'slavery', *kamī, kamētī* 'shortcoming', *pānī, -āī, -ētī* 'breadth'.

*-atī, -iatī* > *-yatī* > *-ētī*, *-āyatī* form abstract nouns from nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, e.g.

*āyāyatī* 'agha-ship', *birāyatī* 'brotherhood', *dōstāyatī* 'friendship', *dužmināyatī* 'enmity', *ḥākimētī* 'judge-, governorship', *pyāwatī* 'manhood, service', *šāristānētī* 'civilization', *xizmāyatī* 'kinship';

*čōnīatī* 'how-ness', *kēyatī* 'who-ness';

*birsētī* 'hunger', *čākīatī* 'goodness', *tīnūētī* 'thirst', *yakīatī, yakētī* 'oneness, unity'.

*-ēnī*, more rarely, forms abstract nouns, e.g.

*būkēnī* 'bride-ship', *čāwēnī* 'evil-eye', *kičēnī* 'maidenhood', *kuřēnī* 'youth, boyhood'.

(*b*) Diminutive

*-č-, -k-, -l-, -l-*, in various combinations, form derived nouns, and occasionally adjectives, which may be classed generally as 'diminutive'. Thus:

*-ča* *bāxča* 'small garden', *nāwča* 'district'
*-čka* *řēčka* 'string, file', *xānūčka* 'little house'
*-ak* *dastak* 'pole, beam', *řānak* 'trousers'
*-ik* *dastik* 'bunch, handle', *ǰūčik* 'chick'
*-ka* *dōlka* 'bucket', *lūtka* 'mountain peak', *miłwānka* 'necklace'
*-aka* *pūlaka* 'fish scale, spangle', *tūraka* 'small bag'
*-ōk* *tīrōk* 'rolling pin'
*-ōka* *bāřōka* 'pullet', *fīrfīrōka* 'whirligig', *finōka* 'jinnee'
*-kala* *xiřkala* 'short and stout'
*-la* *mērūla* 'ant', *pīšīla* 'cat', *qutīla* 'little lamp'
*-laka* *ǰūlaka* 'Jew'

*-ila* *amustila* 'finger ring', *gurčila* 'kidney', *kārila* 'kid'
*-ūla* *dānūla* 'porridge', *jāšūla* 'baby ass', *mēšūla* 'mosquito'
*-ūlka* *dāsūlka* 'small sickle', *pāčūlka* 'small pick'
*-la* *gōzala* 'small pitcher', *jūjala* 'chick'
*-ala* *girdala* 'hillock', *sawzala* 'little fresh one'
*-ōla* *kičōla* 'little girl', *pičkōla* 'small, tiny'
*-ōlka* *dizōlka* 'small saucepan', *girdōlka*, *tapōlka* 'hillock'

(c) Concrete

*-gā*, forms nouns of place, e.g.

*hōrdūgā* (War. *hūrdūā*) 'army camp', *kōgā* 'store', *rēgā* 'road', *sayrāngā* 'beauty-spot', *tāvga* 'waterfall'.

*-alān*, (Bin., Piž. *-alēn*), forms nouns with the meaning 'tract, expanse of . . .', e.g.

*bardalān* 'stony tract, wilderness', *narmalān* 'soft land', *qāmīšalān* (Bin. *qāmīšalēn*) 'reed-bed', *sawzalān* 'green, verdant tract', *ziralān* (Piž. *ziralēn*) 'thorny tract', *zixaldn* 'stretch of gravel'.

*-(i)stān* forms nouns with the meaning 'place, country of . . .', e.g.

*dāristān* 'wood(land)', *ǰaŋlistān* 'jungle', *kurdistān* 'land of the Kurds', *kestān* 'highlands, uplands', *qabristān* 'graveyard', *šāristān* 'city'.

*-awān*, *-čī*, *-gar* form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

*āšawān* 'miller', *bāxawān* 'gardener', *kaštīawān* 'boatman', *malawān* 'swimmer', *pāsawān* 'watchman', *šāxawān* 'mountaineer', *tōřawān* 'fisherman' (net-man);
*bōyāxčī* 'shoeblack', *čāyčī* 'teashop-keeper', *qāčāxčī* 'smuggler', *řāwčī* 'huntsman', *tanakačī* 'tinsmith';
*āsingar* 'blacksmith', *čaqōgar* 'cutler', *misgar* 'coppersmith'.

*-dān* forms nouns with the meaning '. . . -holder', e.g.

*čirādān* 'lamp-holder', *darzīdān* 'needle-holder', *fīšakdān* 'handolier', *fizdān* 'wallet', *mōmdān* 'candlestick', *mināldān* 'womb', *mīzildān* 'bladder'.

*-dār* forms nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'possessor of . . .', e.g.

*amindār* 'steward', *baydāxdār* 'flagbearer', *bałdār* 'partner', *dukāndār* 'shopkeeper', *dildār* 'lover', *dardadār* 'invalid', *mīwāndār* 'host';
*āgādār* 'careful', *astēradār* 'starry', *bāldār* 'winged', *dāndār* 'toothed, cogged', *xyāndār* 'damaged'.

*-kar*, *-kār*, less commonly *-gār*, *-yār*, form nouns and adjectives with the meaning 'doer, maker of . . .', e.g.

*čēšt-*, *nān-kar* 'cook', *kārakar* 'maidservant', *kāwēžkar* 'ruminant', *xwālkar* 'beggar', *šaṙkar* 'fighter';
*ārazūkar* 'desirous', *ūkar* 'industrious', *nožkar* 'devout';
*harzakār* 'lusty youth', *kirēkār* 'hired labourer';
*pārēzgār* 'abstemious';
*ǰūtyār* 'ploughman', *kirī(y)ār* 'buyer, customer'.

*-bāz* forms nouns with the meaning 'addicted to . . .', e.g.

*hatīwbāz* 'pederast' (*hatīw* 'orphan'), *qumārbāz* 'gambler'.

*-ēn* (Arb., &c., *-ānē*) forms the names of games, e.g.

*halūkēn* 'tip-cat', *halmātēn*, *mūlēn* (Arb. *kallāyānē*) 'marbles', *fitbōlēn* 'football', *sartrinǰēn* 'chess', *tōpēn* (Arb. *tōpānē*) 'ball game', but *zōrān* (Arb. *zōrānē*) 'wrestling'.

(*d*) Verbal

*-ōk*, *-nōk* form nouns or adjectives with the sense 'habitual doer of . . .' from verbal stems, e.g.

*gaṙōk* 'wandering, nomad';
*girīnōk* 'whining, cry-baby', *tirsnōk* 'coward'.

*-ar*[1] forms agent nouns from verbal stems, e.g.

*kužar* 'killer', *nūsar* 'writer'.

*-amanī* forms nouns of materials from verbal past stems, e.g.

*sūtamanī* 'fuel', *xwārdamanī* 'food'.

*-a* forms nouns of 'noise'. From the suffix-free morpheme denominative transitive verbs are formed by the addition of the causative morphemes (§ 233).

*bōla* : *bōlānin* 'murmur', *bāṙa* : *bāṙānin* 'bleat', *fīka* : *fīkānin* 'whistle', *ḫīla* : *ḫīlānin* 'neigh'.

[1] A neologism, formed on the analogy of nouns in *-kar* (v. (c) above): *kirīn*, *ka-*, *-dar* (v. § 256): *dān*, *da-*, *-bar*: *birīn*, *ba-*, e.g. *bārbar* 'load-carrier, porter', *ṙanǰbar* 'labourer'.

Such nouns also form copulative compounds (§ 252 (*c*)), e.g.

*giva-giv* 'rumble', *qirča-qirč* 'crackle, splutter', *qiža-qiž* 'scream'.

**§ 256.** The following suffixes form adjectives:

*-î* forms adjectives of kind, or origin, e.g.

*bāzārī* 'common, of the market', *kostānī* 'mountaineer', *lādēī* 'rustic', *milkī* 'musk-coloured, black', *qāwaī* 'coffee-coloured, brown';
*hawlērī* 'of Arbil', *hacrāmī* 'of Avroman'.

*-în*, *-āwî* form adjectives from nouns, chiefly of materials, e.g.

*āgirîn* 'fiery', *āsinîn* 'iron', *ŧayîn* 'colourful';
*ārdāwî* 'floury', *bafrāwî* 'made of snow', *quŧāwî* 'muddy', *xōlāwî* 'dusty', *xwēnāwî* 'bloody'.

*-în* forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

*aspēwîn* 'lousy', *čilkîn* 'filthy', *gōštîn* 'fleshy', *kulkîn* 'furry', *kirmîn* 'wormy', *likîn* 'dribbly', *qižîn*, *tūkîn* 'hairy', *wurgîn* 'big-bellied'.

*-man/ŋ*, (*-mand*) forms adjectives with the sense 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

*'aqlman* 'wise', *ārazūmaŋ* 'desirous', *dādmaŋ* 'just', *dawlaman/ŋ* 'rich', *dardman* 'ill', *hunarmaŋ* 'skilled'.

*-dar* forms adjectives meaning 'giver of . . .', e.g.

*āgādar* 'aware', *farmāndar* 'commanding'.

*-kār*, *-bāw* modify adjectives of colour, e.g.

*ŧalkār* 'blackish', *sipīkār* 'whitish', *sūrbāw* 'reddish', *šînkār*, *-bāw* 'bluish'.

*-āna* forms adjectives and, more commonly, adverbs, e.g.

*mārāna* 'snaky', *māŋāna* 'monthly', *sālāna* 'annual';
*āyāyāna* 'agha-like', *āzāyāna* 'bravely', *birāyāna* 'brotherly', *pyāwāna* 'manly', *šērāna* 'like a lion'.

**§ 257.** In Sul., Sor., and Muk. the 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem ending *-ā-*, infinitive *-ān*, e.g.

*biržān* 'be roasted', *kulān* 'boil', *sūtān* 'burn', *škān* 'break'.

With a few verbs this may alternate with a past stem in *-ī-*, e.g.

*qawmā/īn* 'happen', *ṙimā/īn* 'collapse', *ṙizā/īn* 'rot', *tōqā/īn* 'burst', *xurā/īn* 'itch'.

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation (§ 233) from the Intransitive, e.g.

*biržānin* 'roast', *kulānin* 'boil', *sūtānin* 'burn', *škānin* 'break', *tōqānin* 'terrify', *xurānin* 'scratch'.

In War. the 'regular' Intransitive verb form is marked by the past stem ending *-yā-*, infinitive *-yān*, e.g.

*biržyān*, *kulyān*, *sūtyān*, *škiyān* (< **škyān*, *v.* § 56 (*a*), end).

PART III

# *SŪRČĪ*, AKRE, AMADIYE, *BARWARĪ-ŽŌR*, *GULLĪ*, ZAKHO, AND SHEIKHAN DIALECTS

## A. MORPHOLOGY

### NOUNS

#### Definition

§ 258. (*a*) A noun in its simplest form may be either definite or indefinite, singular or plural (*v.* § 260 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. — *kavr*: rock, the rock, rocks, the rocks
— *bičūk*: child, the child, children, the children

There is no general means of further defining a noun. The following suffixes, however, appear in particular contexts.

(*b*) The suffix *-aka* appears in Sur., Ak. only, in narrative, defining known characters (cf. § 174), e.g.

Sur. 508 *mirćwaka gōta ǯinakē*[1]: the man said to the woman
Ak. 534 *mirćwaka čćva*: the man returned
555 *māraka kuſt*: the snake was killed
682 *das hāvēta kičakē*[1]: he reached for the girl

(*c*) The suffix *-a* appears in all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. following a noun qualified by the proximate demonstrative adjective *av*, &c. (*v.* § 270 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 547 *av māra*: this snake
591 *av ſiftīa*: this watermelon
Zx. 775 *av ṗira*: this bridge

It is not realized after a noun ending in *a*, e.g.

Ak. 564 *av ja*: this dog (*ja*)

[1] See § 261 (*b*).

*Note.* The same 'proximate' suffix is present in

Ak. 597 *či l hinda ganimay kam*: what shall I do with this much wheat? (*v.* § 261 (*b*))

contrast

— *či l hinda ganimī kam*: what would I do with that (so) much wheat?

Cf. also Ak. *hutuva* 'in this way': *watuv* 'in that way'.

**§ 259.** (*a*) The suffix *-ak* (i.e. Sur., Ak. [-ak'], Am.–Zx. [-ak]) gives the noun an indefinite sense or one of unity,[1] e.g.

Sur. 508 *žinak ū mirövak habūn*: there was once a woman and a man

Ak. 531 *mirövak habō*: once there was a man
534 *kāyazak nivīsī*: he wrote a letter
551 *yē hanē fīviak-a*: yonder is a fox

Zx. 790 *mulkilak*: a difficulty

(*b*) Following a noun ending in *a*, *ā* an euphonic *-y-* appears before the suffix, thus *-yak*, e.g.

Ak. 556 *qurbalayak*: a badger
580 *ēzyāyak*: a serpent
586 *birāyak*: a brother

In Am.–Zx., however, this *-y-* is often imperceptible after *ā* (cf. § 35 (*b*)), e.g.

Am. 704 *birāᵛak*: a brother
709A *bāᵛak*: a wind
718 *qazāᵛak*: 723 *qazāyak*: a district

In all dialects, Ak.–Zx., the suffix may appear following *a* as *-k* only, e.g.

Ak. 536 *dabānjak*: a pistol
563 *qisak*: a saying
587 *jigārak*: a cigarette

Am. 705 *qabīlak*: a tribe
719 *jāmiḥ/'ak*: a mosque

[1] BX 5 describes a 'Plural Indefinite Article', i.e. suffix, *-in*. Although quoted BX 19 with a Plural oblique ending *-ān* (*v.* § 261 (*b*)), thus, *dangē karpindn* 'the sound of horses', it is elsewhere only attested with the Secondary Izafe, q.v. §§ 263 (*c*), 264 (*c*).

The group *-īak* may be reduced to *-ēk* (cf. § 59 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 531 *pištēkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī*)
653 *hēvārēkē*: one evening (*hēvārī*)
Bar. 737 *āvāhēk*: a building (*āvāhī*)

(*c*) A noun qualified by an indefinite, but not normally an interrogative, adjective may take the suffix *-ak*, e.g.

Ak. 579 *har kasak*: whatever person
Am. 715 *hamī kasak*: each person

A noun qualified by indefinite number may have the suffix *-ak*, commonly in conjunction with the Plural oblique morpheme *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (*b*)) when oblique, e.g.

Ak. 592 *čār pēnj daf'akā*[1]: four or five times (*daf'a*)
611 *gāzī čār pēnj bičūkakā kir*: called four or five children
613 *tgal sē čār nānakā*: with three or four loaves
Am. 707 *hašt nah r̄ōžakā*[1]: eight or nine days
711A *p čand r̄ōžakā*: by some days
Bar. 731 *sē čārak dī*: some three or four others
Zx. 773 *dah daqīqayakā*[1]: some ten minutes

*Note.* In conjunction with the numeral *yak*, &c. (§ 272), and certain indefinite pronouns an 'indefinite' suffix *-ē* (also ? *-ī*) appears, e.g.

Ak. 563 *har yēkē qisak gōt*: each one said something
617 *hačīē dītbītava*: whoever has seen it
618 *hačīē bīnitava*: whoever brings it back
629 *kasē . . . nāškīnīt*: nobody breaks . . .
Am. 706A *har ēkē k̄ēlikak dāē*: gave each one a cat
Gul. 765 *k̄asē . . . nagōta min*: nobody told me . . .
Zx. 774 *lāzima ēkē am bikužīn*: we must kill someone

Cf. also Ak. 585 *ču ēkī . . . nanivistin*: no one slept.

## Declension

§ 260. (*a*) In all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn. the noun declension presents a system of:

two numbers, Singular and Plural,
two *grammatical* genders, Masculine and Feminine,
two cases, Direct and Oblique.

[1] Adverbial Oblique, v. § 305 (*a*).

In addition, in the system of Vocative endings, a distinction of *natural* gender is observed.

(*b*) The simple noun, i.e. in its Direct case form, gives no indication of its grammatical gender or number (*v.* § 258).[1] These are manifest only in the Oblique case forms (§ 261 (*b*)) and in the forms of the Izafe (§ 264).

§ 261. (*a*) A noun which is the Subject of a verb, or a Predicative noun, appears in the Direct case, i.e. in its uninflected form.

A noun which:

(i) is the Direct Object of a verb,
(ii) is the Agent of a sentence in the Passive construction (*v.* § 296),
(iii) has 'oblique' (i.e. dative, ablative, locative, &c.) sense, whether governed by a preposition or not,
(iv) follows another noun with the Izafe (§ 263), or follows the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266),
(v) has adverbial sense (*v.* § 305 (*a*)),

normally appears in the Oblique case. There is, however, a tendency for the uninflected, Direct case form to replace the Oblique form, particularly in its function as Agent.

If a noun in the Oblique case is followed by an Izafe form then it does not take an Oblique ending.

(*b*) The Oblique case is marked by the following Primary morphemes:

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| All dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn., BX | *-ī* | *-ē* | *-ā(n)* |
| KK § 75 ff. | *-Ō*[2] | *-ē* | *-ā* |

These are added to the simple noun directly, or after the defining suffix *-aka* (§ 258 (*b*)) when present. Examples, *v.* (*d*) below.

[1] The paradigm given in *BSOAS*, XVI. 530, is wrong, and a misinterpretation of K. A. Bedir-Xan's 'Langue Kurde', in that the Plural morpheme *-ā(n)* occurs only in the Oblique case.

[2] Alternatively in KK, BX the internal vowels *a*, *ā* of Masculine nouns may be modified to *ē* in the Sg. Obl., e.g. KK § 89 *fivān* 'shepherd' > *fivēn*, *dar* 'door' > *dēr*.

Following *a*, *ā* the M. Sg. Obl. ending *-ī* appears as *-y*, e.g.

Ak. 531 *a čyāy*: to the mountain
534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house
556 *a qurbaīay*: to the badger
544 *mirôvakay gôtī*[1]: the man said (*mirôv*, *-aka*)

The F. Sg. Obl. ending *-ē* coalesces with preceding *a*, e.g.

Ak. 533 *l filān ǰadē*: in such-and-such street (*ǰāda*)
536 *darikē qīlē*: the door of the town hall (*qīla*)
533 *gôta ǰinakē*: said to the woman (*ǰin*, *-aka*)
682 *das hāvēta kičakē*: reached for the girl (*kič*, *-aka*)

An *ē* preceding the Pl. Obl. ending *-ā(n)* may be modified to *ī*, e.g.

Ak. 555 *p har dô pīā*: with both feet (*pē*)
Zx. 785 *pīā hāt*: he came on foot

contrast,

Ak. 565 *sēā*[1]: three people (*sē*)

The full form *-ān* of the Pl. Obl. morpheme only occurs when it is followed by the enclitic form of the substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 662 *kutē darwēšān-ī*: thou art the son of (one of) some dervishes
679 *lēvē 'arabān-a*: he is the Sheikh of the Arabs
Am. 720 *na šibaīt kārē hamīān-a*: is not like everybody's dress
Zx. 777 *yē l sar vān gir-ô-mirān-in*: they are on these hills and humps

(*c*) When the noun has the indefinite suffix *-ak* (§ 259)[2] then the Oblique case morphemes take the following, Secondary, forms (in all dialects Sur.–Bar. identical with the Primary morphemes, *v.* (*b*) above)[3]:

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| All dialects, Sur.–Bar. | *-ī* | *-ē* | *-ā(n)* |
| Gul. | *-ī* (? *-ē*) | *-ē* | |
| Zx. | *-ē* M. & F. | | |
| KK § 92 ff., BX. 19 | *-ī* | *-ē* | |

[1] Agent oblique, *v.* § 296 (*b*).
[2] In KK §§ 95, 96 also when qualified by a demonstrative adjective *awā*, *awā*.
[3] The distinction of such Primary and Secondary morphemes, though largely disguised here, is common in neighbouring dialects. Cf. the Izafe forms, § 264.

Examples:

Ak. 531 *dikānā mirôvakī*: a man's shop (*mirôv* M.)
540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk* F.)
592 *čār pēnʃ daf'akā*: four or five times (*v.* § 259 (*c*))
Am. 704A *nik naǰārakī*: to a carpenter (*naǰār* M.)
Bar. 729 *ǯinakē bīna*: take a wife (*ǯin* F.)
Gul. 750 *l bīslānakā*: in an orchard (*bīslān* M.)
Gul., Zx. — *nānakē bīna*: bring a loaf of bread (*nān* M.)
Zx. — *kalaxē ʈayrakē*: the carcass of a bird (*ʈayr* M.)
— *ʈarmē ǯinakē*: the body of a woman
771 *ǯ gundakē*: from a village (*gund* M.)

(*d*) Examples of the Oblique case:

(i) as Direct Object,

Sur. 507 *āxē dē kōrin*: they will dig up earth (*āx* F.)
507 *dē kēlin, qurī*: they will take it, mud (*qur* M.)
Ak. 531 *tī ʈayray nākirī*: won't you buy this bird? (*ʈayr* M., *-a*, *v.* § 270 (*a*))
532 *ǯikāyatē bīka*: make a complaint (*ǯikāyat* F.)
539 *kāyazā tnivīnīt*: is writing letters (*kāyaz* F.)
542 *ču dangā naka*: make no noises (*dang* M.)
Am. 703A *ǯvē lē nīn*: we shall cook supper (*ǯīv* F.)
720 *dô darsôkā thāvēt*: puts two kerchiefs (*darsôk* F.)
Bar. 730 *dā ǩayfē kan*: in order to make merry (*ǩayf* F.)

(ii) as Agent (*v.* also § 296 (*b*)),

Ak. 544 *mirôvakay gôtī*: the man said (*mirôv, -aka*)
533 *ǯinakē gôtē*: the woman said to him (*ǯin, -aka*)
Am. 704A *ǯǰārā gôlē*: the merchants said to him (*ǯǰār* M.)

(iii) with 'oblique' sense, when governed by a preposition,

Ak. 531 *a čyđy*: to the mountain (*čyđ* M.)
533 *l filān ǰādē*: in such-and-such street (*ǰāda* F.)
556 *tgal qurbaǰayakī*: with a badger (*qurbaǰa* M.)
540 *wakô dizā*: like thieves (*diz* M.)
532 *p haīt dīnārā*: for eight dinars (*dīnār* M.)
Am. 703 *a āšī*: to the mill (*āš* M.)
703 *p sē ǰivangā*: for three guns (*ǰivang* F.)
704 *ǯ ǰûakī*: from a Jew (*ǰû, -ak* M.)
Zx. 790 *tgal makǰablīā*: with the pupils (*makǰablī* M.)

and when not so governed (*v.* also § 301 (*d*)),

Ak. 540 *har biskakē*: on each curl (*bisk*, *-ak* F.)
Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: camped in a place (*'ard*, *-ak* M.)

(iv) following the Izafe,

Ak. 532 *xudānē ṯayrī*: owner of the bird (*ṯayr* M.)
534 *mālā kābrāy*: the fellow's house (*kābrā* M.)
531 *xudānē dikānē*: owner of the shop (*dikān* F.)
536 *ǰē garmē*: place of warmth (*garm* F.)
Am. 705 *qabīlakā 'arabā*: a tribe of Arabs (*'arab* M.)
Bar. 730 *ḫākimēt bāžērī*: governors of the city (*bāžēr* M.)
Gul. 750 *piṣṭī sa'āṭakē*: after an hour (*sa'āṭ* F.)

(v) with adverbial sense (*v.* also § 305 (*a*)),

Ak. 531 *hamô ṙôžē*: daily (*ṙôž* F.)
531 *ṙôžakē*: one day
553 *hinda ṙôžā*: for some days
548 *hāvīnē*: in summer (*hāvīn* F.)
545 *sē čār qûnāyā*: for three or four stages (*qûnāy* F.)
Am. 703 *naqlakē*: once, at one time (*naql* F.)

## Vocative

§ 262. (*a*) In the Vocative nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings, with a forward shift of stress where possible:

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sur. | ∟-*a* | ∟-*ē* | *∟-*īna* |
| Ak. | ∟-*ô*[1] | ∟-*ē* | ∟-*īna* |
| Am.–Zx. | ∟-*ô* | ∟-*ē* | ∟-*īnô* |
| KK § 49 ff., BX. 20 | --*ô* | --*ē* | --(*ī*)*nô* |

Examples: M. Sg.

Sur. 510 *bāba*: fellow!
Ak. 545 *mārô*: snake!
Ak. 561, Bar. 730 *bābô*: father!
Am. — *kuṙô*: son!
Bar. 742 *k̄āfirô*: monster!

[1] This ending also appears forming hypocoristic names (cf. § 181 (*b*)), e.g. *mičô* 'Mustafa', *ṙamô* 'Ramazan', *simkô* 'Ismail'. Cf. Nikitine's text, *BSOS*, III. 85.

**tatô w tamô . . . čôna nik ḫayô*: Tetu and Temu went up to Hayu

F. Sg.

Sur. 510 *źinē*: woman!
Ak. — *xuškē*: sister!
647 *dāykē*: mother!

(but note, *xučó* 'sister! sis!', perhaps with 'honorific' M. ending, cf. § 181 (*a*) fn.),

Am. — *kičē*: daughter!

Plural

Ak. — *qāḥbayna*: ye whores! (a girl to her young playmates)
Am. — *kúřīnō, kíčīnō*: boys! girls!
KK § 51 *xōrtnō, qīznō*: lads! lasses!

(*b*) Alternatively the uninflected noun may appear as a vocative, with a shift of stress to the first syllable where possible, e.g.

Ak. 564 *bírā*: brother! (*birá*)
691 *dā*: mother!

Preceded by a Vocative particle, such as *yā* 'O', a singular noun is generally uninflected, e.g.

Ak. 573 *yā xalífa*: O caliph!

but contrast,

Gul. 761 *yā dāyē*: O mother!
762 *yā xālō*: O uncle!
KK § 50 *lē qīzē, lō kōrō*: O girl! O son!

A noun qualified by any determinant takes no vocative ending, e.g.

Ak. 545 *ḫaywānē xudē*: God's creature!

A plural vocative is formed with *galī* as in Muk. (*v.* § 181 (*a*)). The noun then appears in the Oblique case, e.g.

Ak. — *galī bičúkā*: children!
Am. — *galí kurā*: lads!

## Izafe (*v.* § 182)

**§ 263.** (*a*) The Izafe appears in a variety of forms according to its functions. These may be classed as Individual and Generic forms. In certain dialects the Individual forms may be subdivided into Primary and Secondary forms.

All Izafe forms are realized enclitically and follow their antecedent in its uninflected form, even when it is grammatically Oblique (*v.* § 261 (*a*)).

(*b*) The functions of the Individual Izafe are:

(i) to connect a noun with a qualifying word which immediately follows it, be it an attributive adjective (§ 267), or a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition,

(ii) to introduce relative clauses (*v.* § 307 (*b*)).

(*c*) The Secondary forms appear:

(i) following a noun qualified by an indefinite suffix *-ak* (KK § 101, BX also *-(i)n*, *v.* § 259 (*a*) fn.); in Sur. also apparently following the suffix *-aka* and the adverbial suffix *-īś* (§ 305 (*b*)),

(ii) when a noun is qualified by two or more adjectives, joining the second and subsequent adjectives to the first (examples, KK § 100, Cukerman, op. cit., p. 136, BX 4). See also fn. 2, p. 206

Otherwise the Primary forms are used.

(*d*) The Generic Izafe serves to connect certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of a compound verb (§ 299), with their complements. It occurs also in certain compound prepositions (§ 303).

**§ 264.** The Izafe has the following forms:

(*a*) Primary

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sur. | *-ē* | *-ā* | *-ē* |
| All dialects, Ak.–Zx. | *-ē* | *-ā* | *-ē(t)*[1] (Ak. [-e:t'], Am., &c. [-e:t]) |
| KK §§ 98, 99 | *-ē* | *-ā* | *-ē(d)* |
| BX 1 | *-ē* | *-ā* | *-ē(n)*[2] |

[1] In literary texts from this area the Pl. forms *-ē di*, *-ē ti* occur, i.e. with a separate 'plural' particle (cf. § 183 (*c*)), e.g. *Aḥmadē Xānī*, '*Nūbār*' (dated A.H. 1094 = A.D. 1682), line 5.

کو بونه پیروی دِ وی

**kō bōna payrawē* di *wī*: who became his followers

Cl. Huart, 'Prière canonique musulmane', *Jl. As.* 1895, XCIII, dated *c.* A.D. 1780, metre *ramal-i maqṣūr* [*contd. p.* 159]

The M. Sg. and Pl. Izafe forms *-ē*, *-ēt* normally coalesce with preceding *a*, *ē*, e.g.

Sur. 511 *kōrē dīka*: the other swindler (*kōra*)
Ak. 537 *albīsē xó*: his own clothes (*albīsa*)
545 *ǰē garmē*: place of warmth (*ǰē*)
542 *darafēt 'usmānī*: the stairs of heaven (*darafa*)
Gul. 750 *pē xwa, pē wī*: his foot (*pē*)

but contrast,

Ak. 690 *ʂayē wī*: his dog (*ʂa*)

Note also

Am. 711A *birē min*: my brother (*birā*)

The F. Sg. Izafe *-ā* coalesces with preceding *a*, *ā*, e.g.

Ak. — *ōdā hanē*: yonder room (*ōda*)
588 *čā xó*: his own tea (*čā*)
Am. 709A *qahwā xó*: his own coffee (*qahwa*)

Note also

Ak. 565 *xwā wī*: his salt (*xwē*)

(*b*) Examples of the Primary Izafe with:

(i) a qualifying adjective,

Sur. 514 *karē dēza*: the grey ass (*kar* M.)
514 *har dū gāē dī*: both the other oxen (*gā* M.)

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– ∪ – – / – ∪ – – / – ∪ –

verse 3. گر تۆجه دی اینی تو فرضی تِبخو

**gar tə̄ ǰih dē ini tō farǰē ti xó*: if thou wilt carry out thy duties cf. verse 4. دا به لِزِم کینه فرضیت واجبه

**dā bībē̄im kina farǰēt wāǰība*: let me say which are the obligatory duties

In all dialects the form *-ē*, with no trace of the particle, may appear occasionally in the Plural.

[1] *Maḥzī ǰāvīd* ('Divān', ed. Hartmann, Berlin, 1904) has, beside **-ēn*, the form **-ēn dī*, e.g. p. 217, metre *hazaǰ-i axrab-i makfūf-i maqṣūr*

– – ∪ / ∪ – – ∪ / ∪ – – ∪ / ∪ – –

چشمین دِ بیّه را دکرن فتنه و خونان

**ẓalmēn dī ziyah tā dikirin fitna u xūnān*: black eyes caused riot and bloodshed نادَم بشمالین دِ بهشتی

**nādam bi ǰamālēn, bi ǰapālēn dī bihīštī*: I shall not give (up your beauties, &c.) for the paradisian lights and beauties

See Kurdoev, KK § 100, note 2.

Ak. 533 *birāẽ māztirẽ*: the eldest brother (*birā* M.)
548 *ʒāẽ hanẽ*: yonder bough (*ʒā* M.)
537 *xanʃarā pišik-zēr*: gold-studded dagger (*xanʃar* F.)
Am. 716 *ḥaywānēt ḳivī*: wild animals (*ḥaywān* M.)

(ii) a noun or pronoun in genitive relation,

Ak. 539 *kuṙē min*: my son (*kuṙ* M.)
531 *dāykā xō*: his own mother (*dāyk* F.)
537 *xanʃarēt xō*: your own daggers (*xanʃar* F.)
Am. 703 *ḳarẽ wā*: their ass (*ḳar* M.)
712A *ʒinā hārónaṙašīdī*: Harun al-Rashid's wife (*ʒin* F.)
704 *ḷiʃārēt baydā*: the merchants of Baghdad (*ḷiʃār* M.)
Bar. 727 *kuṙēt xwa*: his own sons
736 *kuṙē kēma*: whose son am I?
Zx. 779 *ʃilkēt xō*: my own clothes (*ʃilk* Pl.)

(c) Secondary

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sur. | *-ī* | *-ā* | |
| Ak., Am. | *-ẽ* | *-ā* (= Primary, *v.* (*a*) above) | |
| Bar. | *-ī* | *-ā* | |
| Gul. | *-ī* | *-a*/*-Ø* | |
| Zx. | *-ɨ*/*-Ø* | *-ɨ*/*-a*/*-Ø* | |
| KK § 100 ff., BX 20 | *-ī* | *-a* | *-a* |

Examples:

Sur. 525 *mirōwakī ʃaqīrim*: I am a poor man (*mirōw* M.)
512 *šīwakā xōš*: a nice soup (*šīw* F.)
517 *mirōwakay xwārē*: the lower man (*-aka*)
519 *tanakaʃī dōšāwẽ*: the tin of syrup also (*tanaka* M., *-(ī)ʃ*)
Ak. 531 *ʒayrakẽ zēr*: a gold bird (*ʒayr* M.)
548 *dārakā māzin*: a big tree (*dār* F.)
Am. 722 *'ardakẽ hūn*: a cool place (*'ard* M.)
718 *qazāyakā kavn*: an ancient district (*qazā* F.)
Bar. 728 *ēlīmakī wān*: an orphan from among them (*ēlīm* M.)
Gul. — *xāxō ʃihakī xwaʃa*: Zakbo is a pleasant place (*ʃih* M.)
767 *t kulilikaka mazindā*: in a big rissole (*kulīlk* F.)
Zx. — *mirōvakī mazin*: a big man (*mirōv* M.)
— *mēzaka bičūk*: a small table (*mēz* F.)

774 *jārakə( ) dī*
781 *jārakī dī* } again, another time (*jār* F.)
773 *pirakī bilind*: a high bridge (*pir* F.)
775 *kičikakī dalāl*: a beautiful girl (*kičik* F.)

(*d*) Generic (see also § 303)

All dialects Sur.–Zx., KK, BX *-ī*, e.g.

Ak. 558 *dē gāzī ta kam*: I shall call thee (*gāz kirin*)
602 *nēzīkī ḫākimī bó*: was near the judge (*nēzīk*)
603 *taslīmī . . . wazīrī bika*: give it to the vizier (*taslīm kirin*)

Am. *passim*, *pišī hingī*: after that, afterwards (*pišī* F.)
714 *šibalī gurg*: such as wolves (*šibal*)

Following a noun, &c., ending in *ī* no Izafe is realized, e.g.

Ak. 558 *dē hēma hārī ta*: I shall come to thy aid (*hārī*)
567 *tazī zēr*: full of gold (*tazī*)
608 *mēvānī min kirbō*: had entertained me (*mēvānī* (F.) *kirin*)

(*e*) A noun in partitive relation to another generally appears without the Izafe, e.g.

Sur. 514 *hindak pāra*: a little money
Ak. 544 *hindak āx*: a little soil
Am. 709 *hindak aw zibil*: a little of that dung

Contrast the following forms with the (*ī* Secondary) Izafe (cf. § 184 (*c*)),[1]

Ak. 531 *pištčkē dārā*: a load of sticks (*pištī* M.)
533 *dastakē ǰilkēt žinā*: a suit of women's clothes (*dasta* M.)

**§ 265.** The nominal suffixes[2]

A. *-akā* (§ 258 (*b*)), C. *-ak* (§ 259), and D. *-ā* (§ 258 (*c*))

are mutually exclusive. This is equally the case with the endings

E. oblique case *-ī*, *-ē*, *-ā* (§ 261),

and F. Izafe *-ē*, *-ā*, *-ēt*; *-ī*, *-a* (§ 264).

[1] See now Kurdoev, *Numerativnye slova*, p. 34, where a distinction is made between the numerative use of certain words, e.g. *ravākā kasp* 'a (one) herd of horses', and the attributive use with the Izafe, e.g. *ravākā kaspā* 'a herd of horses, a horse-herd'.

[2] Cf. §§ 178, 187. Note that Sul., &c., B *-dā* is transferred to the position of Ak., &c., E *-ā*, while Ak., &c., F *-ēt* replaces Sul., &c., BF *-dīt*.

A representative of the group A C D always precedes E or F in order of suffixation to a noun. Thus the possibilities of combination are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | Sur. 508 | *mirōwaka*: the man |
| AE | Ak. 533 | *gōta žinakē*: said to the woman |
| AF | Sur. 517 | *mirōwakay xwārē*: the lower man |
| C | Sur. 508 | *žinak û mirōwak*: a woman and a man |
| CE | Ak. 540 | *har bizkakē*: on each curl |
| | Ak. 592 | *čār pēnj daf'akā*: four or five times |
| CF | Am. 718 | *qazāyakā kavn*: an ancient district |
| D | Zx. 775 | *av ƒira*: this bridge |
| DE | Ak. 531 | *vī ƒayray nākitī*: won't you buy this bird? |
| E | Sur. 507 | *āxē dē kōrin*: they will dig up earth |
| F | Ak. 531 | *dāykā xō*: his own mother |
| | Am. 716 | *ḥaywānēt kīvī*: wild animals |

## Demonstrative Izafe

**§ 266.** (*a*) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following main functions. It appears:

(i) before a noun or pronoun, giving the group a possessive sense,

(ii) before an adjective, to which it gives substantive sense (often, however, untranslatable),

(iii) before certain verbal forms, materially altering the sense (*v.* §§ 309, 313).

It may, moreover, alternate with the Individual Izafe (§ 263 (*b*)), particularly when a qualifying adjective, noun, or phrase is separated from the word qualified by any word other than a *like* qualifier.

(*b*) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms:

| | Sg. M. | F. | Pl. M. & F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sur. | *y/wē* | *y/wā* | *y/wē* |
| All dialects, Ak.–Gul. | *y/wē* | *y/wā* | *y/wēt* |
| Zx. | *y/wē* | *y/wē*, *y/wā* | *y/wēt* |
| KK § 126 | *yē* | *yā* | *yēd* |
| BX 4 | *yē* | *yā* | *yēn* |

With the forms *yē*, &c., the initial *y* is frequently not realized, particularly when following a consonant, and the remaining vowel

is then (except occasionally in Zx., Fem.) formally identical with the Individual Izafe (§ 264 (*a*)).

Either the form *yē* or the Plural Izafo particle *t* (*v.* § 264 (*a*) fn.) may appear alone for the combined form *yēt*.

The forms *wē*, &c., appear in all dialects with the demonstrative adjective *hanē*, &c. (§ 271 (*b*)), and in Gul., Zx. particularly with the verb *habīn* (cf. § 293).

(*c*) Examples:

(i) with nouns, &c.,

Ak. — *av kitēba* yēt mi*n*i*n*: these books are mine
— yā bāšimī *māztira*: Hashim's (daughter) is bigger

(ii) with adjectives,

Sur. 517 *maz* yē xwārē: in front of the lower one
530 *gōriā* yē dī: the other one's turn

Ak. 534 *ava* yēt xôši*n*, yēt naxôš *dē l dû hēn:* these are the pleasant things, the unpleasant ones will come later
562 yē dwē . . . yē sēyē: the second . . . third one
596 *ẓinkēt wān* t xirāb *bin*: their wives are bad ones
622 *gôta* yē fala: said to the Christian fellow

Am. 722 *ḫačika* yē dī*a*: as for the other one
705 *mīšk* t miša *bôn*: mice were numerous
713 yā garm *bô*: it was (a) warm (one)

(iii) qualifier separated from qualified,

Ak. — *lēvā min* yā xārē: my lower lip
685 *wakīlē xô* yē 'ām: his own general agent
697 *kuṙē wē awwil* (**wē* yē awwil): her first son

Gul. 751 *birāēt wī* yēt dīka: his other brothers
752 *mi kičā xô* yā dāē, yā mazin: I have given him my eldest daughter

[contrast,

Zx. — *min kičā xô* yā mazin yē dāē: ditto]

Zx. — *birāyak min* yē maṣṭir *ž ēī*: a brother of mine older than this one

## ADJECTIVES

§ 267. (*a*) All adjectives, except when used substantively, are inflexible. Attributive adjectives normally follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe (§ 263 (*b*)). An attributive adjective separated

from the noun it qualifies is normally preceded by the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (*c*) (iii)).

(*b*) In Am., Zx. a noun qualifying another, be it in genitive relation or in apposition to the qualified noun, may appear in the form of a 'transient' attributive adjective with the suffix *-ē*. Reliable examples are, however, rare.

Am. — *mēlā hingvīnē*: honey bee [contrast
Ak. — *mēlā hingvīnī*: honey bee (*hingvīn* M.)]
Am. 719 *dargahē zēbārē*: the Zebar Gate
Zx. — *ʒarmē niẖē*: the Great Bear (lit. 'Noah's body')
776 *dārakī banōkē*: a terebinth tree (*banōk*)
777 *ʃōā ḥāzim bagē*: the Hazim Beg channel [contrast
— *ʃōā bagī*: the Beg's channel (*bag* M.)]
787 *liwā silēmānīē*: in Suleimaniye province

### Comparison

§ 268. (*a*) The morpheme Sur., Ak. *-tir*, Am., &c., *-lir* (i.e. all dialects [-t'ir]) added to the simple adjectival form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective.

The following irregular comparatives occur:

Ak. — *māz|stir* 'bigger' < *māzin* 'big'
Zx., &c. *maʒtir* < *maʒin*
Ak. — *čētir* 'better' : *bāī* 'good'

(*b*) The morpheme *-ē* added to the comparative adjective forms a superlative adjective (*v.* also § 274 (*a*)). This also follows the qualified noun with the Izafe, like a positive adjective, e.g.

Ak. 533 *birāē māxtirē*: the eldest brother
598 *birāē gičkatirē*: the younger brother (of two)

*Note.* In Rwn. *har* yields a type of superlative with a following adjective to which it is joined by the Secondary Izafe (cf. § 190 (*c*)), e.g.

Rwn. — *dawlatā* hara *dēmōkrātī*: the most democratic state
— *zāī . . . ē* harī *ʃulāt*: the most daring child

### Certain adjectives

§ 269. (*a*) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify:

(i) the demonstrative adjectives *av*, *awo* (§ 270),
(ii) cardinal numbers (§ 273),
(iii) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives,

*či*, Sur. *ći* 'what, whatever'
Ak. *ču*, Am. *či* (KK *čō*, BX 52 *tu*) 'any'
*čand* 'some, how much'
*filān* 'such-and-such'
*galak* 'many'
*hamō*, *hamī*, Sur. *hama*, *hamū* 'all'
(*av*)*hinda* 'so much'
*har* 'whatever'
Ak. *kī*, Am., &c., *kī* 'what, which' (Obl. also *kē*, perhaps influenced by the equivalent pronoun, § 278 (*a*))

but not

*dī*(*ka*) 'other'
Ak. *wa*(*tuw*), Zx. *waṭā* 'such'

(*b*) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives:

Sur. 510 *az* hama *rōžē . . . akiṙim*: every day I buy . . .
512 či *šīw lō nāya*: what supper has been cooked
Ak. 542 ču *dangā naka*: make no noises
596 čand *daf'ā žinā min čō*: how many times did my wife go?
589 *kuṙē* filān *kasī*: the son of such-and-such person
— galak *mirōv hātin*: many men came
550 hamō *sālē*: every year
597 *l* hinda *ganimay*: with so much wheat (*v.* § 258 (*c*))
578 har *kasakē xāīn bīt*: whatever person be treacherous
607 *awo* kī *faqīra*: which poor man is that?
593 *l* kī *mamlakatī*: in what country
596 *t zamānē* kī *ḫākimīdā*
582 *l zamānē* kē *ḫākimī* } in the time of what ruler
583 *l* kē *maḫalē*: in which quarter?
Am. 719 či *mināra . . . nīnin*: there are no minarets
710 či *tiṙī nāvdā nabōn*: there was nothing inside them
711A čand *xalkē baydā*: so many people of Baghdad
706A hamī *miṙk ṙavīn*: all the mice fled
725 har *kas . . . naṙētin*: whatever person cannot . . .
711 *ž* kī *dirkē*: from what place?

but,

Ak. 532 *ēkī* dīka: another one
— *tištakē* watuv *min dīt*: I saw such a thing
Zx. 781 *mirôvakī* waṣā: such a man

### Demonstrative adjectives

§ **270.** (*a*) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two inflecting demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, viz. *av* 'this', *aw* 'that'.[1] Sur. has the one form *aw* 'this, that' (cf. § 192 (*a*)).

A noun qualified by Ak., &c., *av*, but not *aw*, is normally followed by the defining suffix *-a* (§ 258 (*c*)).[2] In Sur. there is some evidence of the distinction between *aw* . . . *-a* 'this' and *aw* . . . 'that', e.g.

Sur. 506 aw *ganim-īn kēlā*: we took that wheat
526 aw *fēra*: this trick

The occurrence of the suffix *-a* with nouns qualified by *av* in the Oblique cases varies according to the dialect. Thus the following combinations are attested:

| 'this' | | Sur. | Ak. | Am., Bar. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dir. | Sg. & Pl. | *aw* . . . *-a* | *av* . . . *-a* | *av* . . . *-a* |
| Obl. | Sg. M. | *aw*[3] . . . *-a*[*y*] | *vī* . . . *-a*[*y*] | (*a*)*vī* . . . [*ī*] |
| | Sg. F. | *awē* . . . [*ē*] | (*a*)*vē* . . . [*ē*] | *vē* . . . *-a* Am. . . . [*ē*] Bar. |
| | Pl. M. & F. | | *vā*(*n*) . . . [*ā*] | *vā* . . . [*ā*] |

| 'that' | | All dialects |
|---|---|---|
| Dir. | Sg. & Pl. | *aw* . . . |
| Obl. | Sg. M. | (*a*)*wī* . . . [*ī*] |
| | Sg. F. | *wē* . . . [*ē*] |
| | Pl. M. & F. | (*a*)*wā*(*n*) . . . [*ā*] |

[1] Cf. KK §§ 95 ff. 'definite article' *avā*, *awā*, &c.

[2] A Direct Plural ending *-ana* in conjunction with *av* was said to exist in Ak., Am., but not generally heard, e.g.

Ak. — av *kitēbana*: these books
Am. — av *tištana*: these things

Cf. Bar. 728 av *halwayna*: these Helweis (people of Helwe)

[3] i.e. no M. Sg. Obl. form of the adjective *aw* was attested in Sur. This may have been fortuitous. In the Gul. texts the Dir. form is often used for the Obl., e.g.

Gul. 751 aw *xazālē bikūšīt*: to kill that gazelle
750 *bō mālā* aw *kāfirī*: for the house of that monster
but 750 *l* wī *milē wī*: in that shoulder of his

where the forms in [square brackets] represent the appropriate nominal inflexion.

From this it is possible to deduce the following basic paradigm for the adjective alone:

| | 'this' | 'that' |
|---|---|---|
| Dir. Sg. & Pl. | *av . . . -a* | *avo* |
| Obl. Sg. M. | *(a)vɪ . . . -a* | *(a)wɪ* |
| Sg. F. | *(a)vē . . . -a* | *(a)wē* |
| Pl. M. & F. | *(a)vā(n) . . . -a* | *(a)wā(n)* |

The fuller Obl. forms *avɪ*, &c., appear mainly following a pause.

(*b*) Examples:

(i) *av*, &c.

Ak. 547 av *māra*: this snake (*mār* M.)
612 av *māsɪa či tkan*: what are these fishes doing? (*māsɪ* M.)
596 *I* vɪ *ɟiftɪay zyatir*: other than this watermelon (*ɟiftɪ* M.)
531 vɪ *ɟayray nākirɪ*: won't you buy this bird? (*ɟayr* M.)
— *I* vē *ǒdē*: in this room (*ǒda* F.)
573 vē *ḫālē*: in thia case (*ḫāl* F.)
622 *mawǰǒdā* vā *pārā*: what is present of these monies (*pāra* Pl.)
622 vān *pārā . . . bibava*: take these monies back

Am. 703 av *ǩara*: this ass (*ǩar* M.)
706 *dē* vɪ *ḫaywānɪ firōɪɪ*: wilt thou sell this animal? (*ḫaywān* M.)
706A *ǩ* vē *dirǩa*: from this place (*dirǩ* F.)
717 vē *ǰāra*: this time (*ǰār* F.)
706 *dē* vā *milkā dar čxim*: I shall drive out these mice (*milk* M.)

Bar. 730 av *bāžēra*: this town (*bāžēr* M.)
726 *I* vɪ *gundɪ*: in this village (*gund* M.)
726 *sarē* vē *ɪkafɪē*: above thia cave (*ɪkafɪ* F.)

Zx. 775 av *ɟira*: this bridge (*ɟir* F.)

(ii) *aw*, &c.

Sur. 510 aw *kōsay gōtē*: *that* swindler said to her (*kōsa* M.)
515 *tabɪ* aw *karay law mirōway har bistɪnɪ*: thou must certainly take *this* ass from *this* man

Ak. — *kā* aw *kitēb*: where are those books?
571 aw *širīkē ma*: that partner of ours (*širīk* M./F.)
539 *ḥākimē* wī *jēy*: ruler of that place (*jē* M.)
544 awī *mirôvī čī kir*: what did that man do? (*mirôv* M.)
587 *čô bô* wē *maḥalē*: went to that quarter (*maḥala* F.)
561 wān *dizū ma'yan kir*: those thieves decided (*diz* M.)
618 *l* wā *sī hizār ṭuplēt ḥarām*: than those thirty thousand illicit rupees
Am. 706 aw *mirôv*: those men
706 *xalkē* wī *gundī*: people of that village (*gund* M.)
706A wē *dirkē*: in that place (*dirk* F.)
709 awā *ītfārā dīt*: those merchants saw (*ītfār* M.)
710 *gāzī kira* wā *mirôvā*: he called to those men

§ 271. (*a*) All dialects have a further, inflexible, demonstrative adjective, Sur. *hē*, Ak.–Zx. *ha(nē)*, Bar. *hana* (KK § 120 *hān*, BX 45 *hā*, *Xālidī*, s.v. *awēhā*, *hā(nē)*) 'yonder, here'. It either follows the noun or pronoun it qualifies with the Izafe, or may appear independently with the Demonstrative Izafe, e.g.

Ak. — *l ôdā* hanē: in that room (yonder) (*ôda* F.)
546 *a lālī binadārā* hanē: to that tree-trunk (*binadār* F.)
572 *qurbānī faqīrē* hanē: the sacrifice of that beggar (*faqīr* M.)
549 *yā* hanē *čēlaka*: yonder (thing) is a cow (*čēl* F.)
551 *yē'* hanē *rīvîaka*[1]: see! yonder is a fox (*rīvî* M.)

It frequently appears in conjunction with either of the inflecting demonstrative adjectives (§ 270), e.g.

Ak. 548 av *ṭādē* hanē: this (here) bough (*ṭā* M.)
Bar. 726 *sarē* wē *lkaflā* hana: above that cave yonder (*lkafl* F.)
Zx. 773 av *p̄irā* hanē: this (here) bridge (*p̄ir* F.)

(*b*) With this adjective the forms *wē*, *wā*, *wēt* of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266 (*b*)) commonly occur, forming in effect a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

Ak., Am. — wē hanē *čīya*: what is yonder thing?
— wēt hanē *čina*: what are those?
Am. 719 *nīvakā* wē hanē *ǰādana*: in the middle of that (place) there are roads
Gul. — wēt ha *yēt minin*: those are mine

[1] *yē'* [je::ʔ] with 'emphatic' lengthening of the vowel and glottal stop.

**Cardinal** **Numerals**

§ 272

| | Sur.[1] | Ak. | Am., Bar. | Zx., Gul. | Shn. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *yēk* | *yak*, (*y*)*ēk* | *ēk* | —[2] | — |
| 2 | *dū* | *dō* | — | — | *dū* |
| 3 | *sē* | *sē* | — | — | — |
| 4 | *čār* | *čār* | — | — | — |
| 5 | *pēnj* | *pēnj* | — | — | — |
| 6 | *šaš* | *šaš* | — | — | — |
| 7 | *haft* | *haft* | *ḫaft* | *ḫaft* | *hāft* [sic] |
| 8 | *hašt* | *hašt* | *hašt* | *hašt* | *hašt* |
| 9 | *nō* | *na*(*h*) | *nah* | *nah* | *na* |
| 10 | *da* | *da*(*h*) | *da* | *dah* | *da* |
| 11 | *yāzda* | *yānzda* | *yānzda* | *yāzda* | *yānzda* |
| 12 | *dwāzda* | *dwānzda* | *dānzda* | *dwāzda* | *dwānzda* |
| 13 | *sēzda* | *sēzda* | — | — | — |
| 14 | *čārda* | *čārda* | — | — | — |
| 15 | *pāzda* | *pānzda* | *pānzda* | *pāzda* | *pānzda* |
| 16 | *šāzda* | *šānzda* | *šānzda* | *šāzda* | *šānzda* |
| 17 | *havda* | *havda* | *havda* [sic] | *ḫavda* | *havda* [sic] |
| 18 | *hažda* | *hažda* | — | — | — |
| 19 | *nōzda* | *nōzda* | *nānzda* | *nōzda* | *nōzda* |
| 20 | *bīst* | *bīst* | *bīst* | *bīst* | *bīst* |
| 30 | *sī* | *sī*(*h*) | *sih* | *sik* | *sī* |
| 40 | *čil* | *čil* | — | — | — |
| 50 | *pēnja* | *pēnja* | *pēnja* | *pēnjī* | *pēnjī* |
| | | | Bar. *pēnjah* | Gul. *pēnjih* | |
| 60 | *šēst* | *šēst* | *šēst* | *šēst* | *šēst* |
| 70 | *haftē* | *haftē* | *ḫaftē* | *ḫaftē* | *hāftī* |
| 80 | *haštē* | *haštē* | *haštē* | *haštē* | *hašti* |
| 90 | *nōt* | *nōṭ* | — | — | *nōṭ* |
| 100 | *sad* | *ṣad* | — | — | — |
| 1,000 | | *hizār* | — | — | *hazār* |
| 1 m. | | *malyōn* | | | |

[1] Sur., Ak., Shn. *p*, *t*, *k* always aspirated, Am.–Zx. *p*, *t*, *k* unaspirated. Sur., Shn. *ō*, *ū* [o:, u:], Ak.–Zx. *ō*, *ū* [u:, y:].

[2] — signifies 'the same form as that noted to the left'.

§ 273. (*a*) Cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify (*v.* § 269).

A cardinal used substantively, or a noun qualified by a cardinal number, takes the Plural Obl. ending *-ā*(*n*) (§ 261 (*b*)) when appropriate, e.g.

Direct

Ak. 545 *ava sē čār r̄ōž-a*: this is three or four days
598 sē čār *dirham habin*: if there be three or four dirhams
Am. 705 sē *mirōv r̄ā wasīyān*: three men were standing

Oblique

Sur. 510 *az dē* dūā *dama tū*: I shall give thee two
Ak. 565 *sēā pištīēt xō dā girtin*: three put down their loads (*v.* § 296 (*b*))
545 sē čār *qûnāyā*: for three or four stages
592 čār pēnǰ *daf'akā*: for four or five times (*v.* § 259 (*c*))
Am. 704 šaš *ṣindôqā čē ka*: make six chests!

(*b*) With certain numbers (generally 'round' numbers—tens, hundreds, &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending *-ī*, giving the sense of 'about . . .',[1] e.g.

Ak. 583 *amrē wī gaštīa* ṣad ô čil *sālī*: his age has reached about 140 years

## Ordinal

§ 274. (*a*) Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the morpheme *-ē* (cf. Rdz. *-am-ē* § 195 (*b*), also § 268 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak., &c., *čārē* 'fourth', *pēnǰē* 'fifth', *nôṭē* 'ninetieth'

The final *a* of the numbers 11–19 is absorbed by the ending *-ē*, thus:

*sēzdē* 'thirteenth', *haždē* 'eighteenth'

Note the following irregular forms:

| | Sur. | Ak. | Am., Bar. | Zx., Gul. | Shn. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | *hawwil* | *awwil(ī)* | *awwil* | *awwilī* | *'awil* |
| 2nd | *dwē* | *dwē* | *dôē* | *dôē* | *dûē* |
| 3rd | *sêyē* | *sêyē* | *sêē* | *sîē* | *sêē* |
| 30th | *sîē* | *sîhē* | *sîhē* | *sîhē* | |
| 50th | | *pēnǰahē* | *pēnǰahē* | *pēnǰīē* Gul. *pēnǰihē* | |
| 70th | | *haftēyē* | | *ḫaftīē* Gul. *ḫaftē* | *hāftīē* |

(*b*) Ordinals follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe. With large numbers, only the last member takes the ordinal ending, e.g.

Zx. 787 *sālā hizār ô nahṣad ô pēnǰī ô* dôē: in 1952 (lit. 'in the 1950-and-second year')

[1] See Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 114, where many Rwn. examples.

## PRONOUNS

### Personal

§ 275. (*a*) All dialects present a system of six personal pronouns, each with Direct and Oblique case forms. In all but Sur., however, the pronoun of the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. is formally identical with the *remote* demonstrative pronoun and is described as such, § 277.

Suffix forms occur only in Sur. They are:

Sg. *-im*, *-it*, *-ī*; Pl. *-in* [sic], *-ū*, *-yăn* (cf. § 197 (*a*))

The independent forms are:

| | | Sur.(1) | Ak. | Am., Bar. | Zx., Gul.(2) | Shn. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Direct | | | | | | |
| Sg. | 1 | *az* | *az*(3) | *az*(3) | *az* | *az* |
| | 2 | *atū* | (*a*)*tó* | *tó* | *tó* | *tū* |
| | 3 | *aw* | | | | |
| Pl. | 1 | *amā*(4) | *am* | *am* | *am* | *am* |
| | 2 | *angō* | *hu*/*ing* | *hing* | *hún* | *hūn* |
| | 3 | *aw*(*ān*) | | | | |
| Oblique | | | | | | |
| Sg. | 1 | (*a*)*min* | (*a*)*min* | *mi*(*n*) | *mi*(*n*) | *min* |
| | 2 | (*a*)*tū* | (*a*)*ta* | *ta* | *ta* | *ta* |
| | 3 | (*a*)*wĭ* | | | | |
| Pl. | 1 | (*a*)*ma* | (*a*)*ma* | *ma* | *ma* | *ma* |
| | 2 | (*a*)*ngō* | (*hu*/*i*)*ngó* | (*hī*)*nga*, Bar. *hawa* | *wa* | *wā* [sic] |
| | 3 | (*a*)*wān* | | | | |

NOTES:

(1) See § 272, fn. 1, on the realization of *t* and *ó*, *ú*.

(2) Cf. KK § 118, BX 24, Dir. *az*, *tu* (KK *tó*), *am*, *hūn* (BX *hōn*), Obl. *min*, *ta*, *ma*, *wa*.

(3) In conjunction with the adverbial suffix Ak. *-īl*, and Am., &c., *-ī* (§ 305 (*b*)) the 1st Sg. Direct pronoun appears as Ak. *ayĭ*, Am., &c., *azī*, e.g.

Ak. 542 ayš *dē* . . . *kam*: I too shall do . . .
561 ayš *dixim*: I too am a thief

Ak. 697 aži *dē hēm* [sic] } I too shall come
Am. 704 aži *dē . . . hēm* }
Gul. 756 aži *čóm*: I too went
Zx. 779 aži *dē xō āvēžim*: I too shall throw myself in

(4) Sur. *ā* being [a:] (*v.* § 106), and not [ɑ:], the example Sur. 508 *amā fūsīn* 'we are naked' may be **ama a fūsīn* (*v.* fn. 1, p. 206). But Sur. — *amā dē čīna ākrē* 'we are going to Akre' cannot be so explained.

(*b*) The personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (§ 261 (*a*)).

The fuller Obl. case forms, *amin*, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause. The shorter forms, *min*, &c., appear in all functions of the oblique case.

(c) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. 529 atū *la bō atirsēy*: why art thou afraid?
522 amay *kuštin*[1]: he has killed us
518 angō *nābīnin*: do you not see?
Ak. 534 az *aḥmadē pīrikēma*: I am Ahmed (son) of the old woman
539 atō *kīy*: who art thou?
545 *min tō . . . Ināy*[1]: I brought thee
561 am *dizīn*: we are thieves
559 hung *bō nāhēn*: why do you not come?
560 hung *kīna*: who are you?
Am. 703 am *dē bayn*: we shall take . . .
707 hing *ēī harīn*: go ye also!
Bar. 736 az *kurē kēma*: whose son am I?
Zx. 781 *awo* hûn *čī tkin*: what is that you are doing?

(ii) Suffix

Sur. 506 *hinārdim*[1]: I sent (him)
529 *kapī lē girt ū lēy birī*[1]: he seized his nose and cut it off
506 *kārīnakīn čē kir*[1]: we built a straw-store

[1] Agent oblique (in Sur., suffix), *v.* passive construction, § 296.

(iii) Oblique

Sur. 509 *nērīē* tū: thy goat
516 *bifirōśa* ma: sell it to us
519 *la bō*-ngō: for you
Ak. 533 *mālā* min: my house
547 amin . . . *hal girt*[1]: I picked (it) up
533 *mālā* ta: thy house
554 ata . . . *dirô kir*[1]: thou liedst
556 *dē* ma *xôt*: it will eat us
630 ama *sûnd* . . . *xār*[1]: we swore an oath
534 *birāē* hungô: your brother
546 *bāpīrē*-ngô: your ancestor
Am. 710 *daynē* mi *bidanava*: repay my loan
710 *muqāwilā* min *ô* hinga: the bond between me and you
703 *kēr* ma *nāhēt*: it is no good to us
704A *mā*-nga *śôla*: is it any affair of yours?
Bar. 735 mi *ṣad dīnār* . . . *dā*[1]: I gave 100 dinars
727 min *ēšārat dā* hawa: I gave you the signal
Gul. 768 *nižda hāt sar* ma: a raiding party has come upon us
749 *wasīā* min *l* wa *bit*: let this be my testament to you
Zx. 781 *śarma bô* wa: it is a shameful thing for you
Shn. — *xātirē* wā: good-bye to you!

## Reflexive

§ 276. (*a*) The reflexive pronoun has one form, Direct and Oblique, Sur. *xō*, Ak., Am., Zx. *xô*, Bar. *xô*, *xwa*, Gul. *xwa* (KK § 122, BX 36 *xwa*). It refers always to the subject of the verb or, in the Passive construction (§ 296), to the agent, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā batava bô* xô: used to take it back for himself
537 *hung xanjarēt* xô . . . *dā nēn*: put your daggers down
540 xô *hižānd*: (he) shook himself
Am. 712 *jû hāla daynē* xô: the Jew came for his debt
Bar. 726 *qasrā* xwa *dā nā*: he placed his mansion
748 *xûškā* xwa *bida min*: give me your sister
Gul. 750 *dastnivēžā* xwa *śûšt*: he performed his ablutions

(*b*) The pronoun *xô*, &c., appears in conjunction with the

[1] Agent oblique, *v.* passive construction, § 296.

preposition *p*[1] (BX 32 also *bi xwa*, but KK § 122 has *xwa-xwa*) with the intensive sense 'my-, him-, &c., -self', e.g.

Ak. 531 *p xôdā čitačyāy*: he would himself go to the mountains
Am. 725 *ḫačîka xalkē wā gundā* p *xôya*: as for the people of those villages themselves
Zx. 771 *t naftî zāxô* p *xôdā*: in the actual (town of) Zakho itself

## Demonstrative

§ 277. (*a*) All dialects Ak.–Zx. have two demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote, each having Dir. and Obl. case forms.

The proximate pronoun, Ak., &c., *awa*, combines in the Dir. esse the forms of the demonstrative adjective *aw* (§ 270) and the defining suffix *-a* (§ 258 (*c*)). The remote pronoun *aw* is formally identical with the corresponding adjective (§ 270) and also serves as 3rd Sg. and Pl. personal pronoun (*v.* § 275 (*a*)).

Sur. has the same forms as Arb., &c. (*v.* § 202 (*a*)), viz. *awa* 'this', *aw* 'that (absent)', and, with the inflexible demonstrative adjective *hē* (§ 271), *awēhē* 'that yonder'.

The forms attested are:

| | Sur. | Ak., &c. | Cf. KK §§ 120, 134 | BX 45 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Direct | | | | | |
| Sg. | *awa* | *awa* | *aw(ā)* | *aw* | 'this' |
| Pl. | ? | | *(a)wānā* | | |
| Oblique | | | | | |
| Sg. M. | *way* | *(a)wî* | *(a)wî* | *wî* | |
| F. | ? | *wē* | *(a)wē* | *wē* | |
| Pl. | ? | *wā(na)* | *(a)wānā* | *wān* | |
| Direct | | | | | |
| Sg. | *aw(ēhē)* | *aw* | *aw(ā)* | *aw* | 'that' |
| Pl. | ? | | *(a)wānā* | | ('he') |
| Oblique | | | | | |
| Sg. M. | | *(a)wî* | *(a)wî* | *wî* | |
| F. | | *wē* | *(a)wē* | *wē* | |
| Pl. | | *(a)wā(n)*, Zx. *wānā* | *(a)wānā* | *wān* | |

[1] Cf. Arb. *ba xô*, with the same sense. The Ak., &c., form is often indistinguishable from *bô xô* > *bu xô* 'for himself', &c., *v.* § 148.

The fuller Oblique forms, *avī*, &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 296) and generally after a pause.

(*b*) Examples:

(i) Direct

Sur. — awēhē *ćiya:* what is that?
524 awa *ćiya*: what is this?
Ak. 591 ava *yē xirāba*: this one is bad
541 aw *kīa:* who is that?
591 aw *biravā*[1]: that one was taken back
535 aw *taḥayir mān:* they were amazed
Am. 710 ava *ma ći kir*[1]: what is this we have done?
703 aw *ʔā bón:* they got up
710 aw *nīna*: is it not that?
Bar. 726 aw *ēī*: he too

(ii) Oblique

Sur. — *xatāē* way *bū*: it was this one's fault
Ak. 591 vī *bibava*: take this one back
558 *az* . . . vāna *nāxóm*: I shall not eat these
565 awī *ći kir*[1]: what did he do?
534 *birāēt* wī: his brothers
549 *lālī* wē: next to her
535 *birāē* wā: their brother
536 *gôta* wān[1]: said to them
537 awān *gôtē*[1]: they said to him
537 awā *ći kir*[1]: what did they do?
Am. 709 *hing dē* . . . awī *danav min*: you will give me that back
703 *ḳarē* wā: their donkey
706 awā *gôlē*[1]: they said to him . . .
Bar. 743 awī *šīrak girt*[1]: he seized a sword
726 *bô* wān: for them
Gul. 760 *birāē* wē *hāt*: her brother came
749 *bābē* wān *mir:* their father died
Zx. 772 *ʔôlē* wānā *avaya*: this is their work

## Interrogative

§ 278. (*a*) The following interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur (cf. adjectives, § 269 (*a*) (iii)):

[1] Passive construction, *v.* § 296.

*či* (*čî* only in pause, and in the fixed adverb *bó čî* 'why?'), Oblique (rare) *čê*; Sur. *č(i)* 'what?'[1]

*čand*, Obl. Sur. *čandî/i*, Ak., &c., *čandê* 'how much?'

*čituv* (Sur. *kû*, Gul. ? *ku*, Am., &c., *čâwâ*, KK § 367 *čitô*, *čâwâ*) 'how?'

*kî*, Obl. *kê* (Am., &c., *kî*, *kê*) 'who?'

*kangî* (KK § 367 *kangê*) 'when?'

Am. *kîlk* (KK § 141 *kîžân*, BX 51 *kîžik*) 'which?'

Examples:

Sur. — *čû xwârd*[2]: what did you eat?
520 kû *bû*: how was it?
Ak. 537 *awâ* či *kir*[2]: what did they do?
560 *hung* čina: what are you?
561 *atô* či *tzânî*: what dost thou know?
667 *bar* čê: for what (reason)?
Ak. 531, Am. 706 *p* čandê: for how much?
Ak. 595 čituv *bó*: how was it?
539 *ató* kîy: who art thou?
564 kî *kurê* kêya: who is son of whom?
546 *lâlî* kê: to whom?
— kangî *dê hêt*: when will he come?
Am. 711 *ma* či *kir*[2]: what have we done?
706A čiya: what is it?
— kîna: who are we/you/they?
— *ava* kê *dâ nâ*[2]: who put this down?
712 čâwâ *fû* . . . *bîbat*: how can the Jew take . . . ?
Bar. 736 *ax kurê* kêma: whose son am I?
Gul. 756 ku *lê hâlîn*: how have they fared?
Zx. 774 kê *kužîn*: whom should we kill?

(*b*) The form *kâ(nê)*, Am., &c., *kâ(nê)*[3] contains the sense of a verb, 'where is, are . . . ?', e.g.

[1] As an indefinite pronoun *či* has an obl. pl. form *čyâ*,
Ak. 636 čyâ *ax bêžima to*: whatever (things) I may say to you
[2] Passive construction, *v.* § 296.
[3] The same form has another, seemingly untranslatable, use, e.g.
Ak. 639 kâ *bizânin či kaya, či nîa*: let us go and see what there is and what there is not
Am. 717 kînê *dâ tê či i ma koy am t bâzirîn*: (well), whatever thou wilt do to us we are ready

Ak. 613 kānē *aw māsī*: where are those fish?
Bar. 747 kā *qódīk*: where is the box?
Gul. 764 kā *xālē min*: where is my uncle?

The following forms are formally Oblique and may take a preposition:

Ak. *kērē, kē(n)darē* (< *kē darē* 'what place', cf. § 89 (*b*)), Am. *kīrē* (:*kī dirkē*) 'where?'
Ak. *kēva*, Zx. *kúva* 'whither?'

Examples:

Ak. 645 *dē* kēva *čī*: whither art thou going?
Am. 711A *ž* kīrē: from where, whence?
Zx. 771 *zāxó tkavita* kûva: where does Zakho lie?

## VERBS

§ 279. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed from the present and past stems (§ 280) respectively.

The two simple tenses are modified by various modal affixes and particles (§ 281) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (§ 288) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the only auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full verbal system is summarized at § 292.

### Stems

§ 280. The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, ending in the morpheme *-(i)n* (*v.* § 205 (*a*)). The form of the past stem is that of the infinitive less this morpheme and is thus regularly predictable from the infinitive, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *čōn* 'go' | : *čō-* |
| *hātin* 'come' | : *hāt-* |
| *kirin* 'do' | : *kir-*, &c. |

The present stem is not always predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. The following empirical

rules may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

(i) When the past stem ends in *-ī*, or, if the verb is transitive and polysyllabic, in *-ā*, then the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *larizī-*[1] | : | *lariz-* | 'tremble' |
| | *qawmī-* | : | *qawm-* | 'happen' |
| | *ziviřī-* | : | *ziviř-* | 'return' |
| (but note, | *girī-* | : | *girī-* | 'weep') |
| Transitive | *biřī-* | : | *biř-* | 'cut' |
| | *kiřī-* | : | *kiř-* | 'buy' |
| | *nāsī-* | : | *nās-* | 'know, recognize' |
| | *pirsī-* | : | *pirs-* | 'ask' |
| | *īnā-* | : | *īn-* | 'bring' |
| | *kôlā-* | : | *kôl-* | 'carve' |
| | *šēlā-* | : | *šēl-* | 'knead' |

(ii) When the past stem ends in *-ā* and the verb is either intransitive, or transitive and monosyllabic, the present stem normally ends in *-ē*, e.g.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *čēryā-* | : | *čēryē-* | 'graze' |
| | *diřyā-* | : | *diřyē-* | 'tear' |
| | *gařyā-* | : | *gařyē-* | 'go about' |
| | *řižyā-* | : | *řižyē-* | 'pour' |
| | *zā-* | : | *zē-* | 'give birth' |
| (but note, | *čamyā-* | : | *čam-* | 'bend' |
| | *ḫalyā-* | : | *ḫal-* | 'melt' |
| | *tirsyā-* | : | *tirs-* | 'be afraid' |
| | *wērā-* | : | *wēr-* | 'dare', &c.) |
| Transitive | *nā-* | : | *nē-*, Am. *n-* | 'put' |
| | *šyā-* | : | *šē-* | 'be able' |

(iii) When the past stem ends in *-ô*, *-û* the present stem is normally identical with it, e.g.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transitive | *gurô-* | : | *gurô-* | 'flay' |
| | *dirû-* | : | *dirû-* | 'sew; reap' |
| | *husû-* | : | *husû-* | 'whet' |
| | *ǰû-* | : | *ǰû-* | 'chew' |

[1] All forms are Ak. unless otherwise stated.

(but note,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *bô-* | : *b-* | 'be' |
| | *čô-* | : *č-* | 'go') |

(iv) When the past stem ends in *-t*, *-d* preceded by a voiced consonant the form of the present stem is normally that of the past stem less the dental stop, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *ḫafimt-* | : *ḫafim-* | 'be still' |
| | *warimt-* | : *warim-* | 'swell' |
| Transitive | *girt-* | : *gir-* | 'hold' |
| | *simt-* | : *sim-* | 'bore, pierce' |
| (note, | *xund-* | : *xûn-* | 'read') |

(v) When the past stem ends in *-t* preceded by a voiceless fricative the present stem frequently ends in the corresponding voiced fricative, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intransitive | *āxift-* | : *āxiv-* | 'speak' |
| | *buhult-* | : *buhuž-* | 'dissolve' |
| | *bixift-* | : *bixiv-* | 'move, budge' |
| | *guhust-* | : *guhuz-* | 'move house' |
| | *kaft-*, | : *kav-*, | 'fall' |
| | Zx. *kal-* | *kav-* | |
| (but note, | *harift-* | : *harif-* | 'be ruined' |
| | *kalīt-* | : *kalīš-* | 'split') |
| Transitive | *gast-* | : *gax-* | 'bite' |
| | *kurôlt-* | : *kurôž-* | 'cruneh' |
| | *kušt-* | : *kuž-* | 'kill' |
| | *xāst-* | : *xāz-* | 'demand' |
| (but note, | *ālist-* | : *ālis-* | 'lick' |
| | *bast-* | : *bast-* | 'freeze') |

(vi) When the vowel preceding the final consonant, or consonant group, of the past stem is *-ā-* then the corresponding vowel of the present stem is commonly *-ē-*, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transitive | *birālt-* | : *birēž-* | 'roast' |
| | *bixāft-* | : *bixēv-* | 'move' |
| | *bižārt-* | : *bižēr-* | 'choose; roast' |
| | *čānd-* | : *čēn-* | 'sow' |
| | *hinārt-* | : *hinēr-* | 'send' |
| | *kalālt-* | : *kalēl-* | 'split' |

Causative verbs in *-āndin*, however, form the present stem in *-īn* (*v.* § 298). Note also:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *stānd-* | : *stīn-* | 'take' |
| *škānd-* | : *škīn-*, | 'break' |
| | Am. *škēn-* | |

A comprehensive list of verbs, with their present stems, is given in Appendix II. The more common 'irregular' verbs, i.e. those with unpredictable present stems, are marked with an asterisk.

## Affixes and Particles

### § 281. (*a*) Modal affixes

Sur. *a-* (*t-* before vowels), Ak. (? Shn.) *t-* (i.e. [t'-]), Am.–Zx. *t-*, (KK § 271, BX 149 *di-*),[1] prefixed to:

the simple present give the Present Indicative,
the simple past give the Past Imperfect tense.

*b*(*i*)- in all dialects (but *v.* § 299) prefixed to the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive. *b*(*i*)- may also be prefixed to the Imperative.

### (*b*) Modal particles

*dē*[2] in all dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn., employed with the simple present, forms the Future tense. (In KK § 290–1 *ē* (*wē*), BX 149 *dē* with the Present Subjunctive form the Future.)

*dā*[2-3] in all dialects, employed with the simple present, forms the Present Imperfect.

[1] Traditionally the affix is written *d*(*i*)- in general, *t-* only prevocalically. A solitary exception is the text of Huart, op. cit. (p. 158 above), where *t*(*i*)- occurs throughout, e.g. تبینی تزانی تبیژین **tibīnī, tizānī, tibēžīn*, &c. (cf. *In.* 3, p. 197). Concerning the realization of *t-*, see §§ 154, 159. With *čōn* 'go' particularly the affix is frequently inaudible.

[2] In Gul., Zx. *dē*, *dā* may be reduced to enclitic *ē*, *ā* respectively after the personal pronouns 1st Sg. *az*, 1st Pl. *am*, e.g.

Gul. 749 *azē čim*: I shall go
759 *amē . . . kin*: we shall make . . .
— *amē vērā gahin*: we would have caught up with him (cf. §§ 311 (*c*), 315)
Zx. 774 *amē girīn*: we shall seize
779 *azē xō hāvēžim*: I shall throw myself

[3] *dā* is also a conjunction, employed regularly with the Present Subjunctive, 'in order that', &c. (*v.* § 310 (*b*)), and a preverb (§ 300 (*a*)).

### (*c*) Negative affixes

*nā́*-[1] in all dialects, prefixed to the simple present, forms the negative of the Present Indicative and Future tenses (i.e. the particle *dē*, *v.* (*b*) above, does not occur in the negative).[2]

*ná*- in all dialects, prefixed to all the remaining tense forms[3] (replacing *b*(*i*)- in the Present Subjunctive), gives the negative of these forms.

*ná*- prefixed to the Imperative (replacing *b*(*i*)- where present in the positive) negates it.

## Personal Endings

§ **282.** Each tense distioguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 275) in that,

(i) the endings appropriate to the 2nd and 3rd persons plural (in KK, BX, all three persons in the plural) are identical in form,

and

(ii) no distinction of gender is made in the endings of the 3rd singular.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending of the 2nd person singular.

## Present Tenses

§ **283.** (*a*) The following tenses are formed from the present stem:

the Present Indicative and Subjunctive, with the modal affixes *t*-, &c., and *b*(*i*)- (§ 281 (*a*)), negative *nā́*- and *ná* (§ 281 (*c*)) respectively,

the Future and Present Imperfect, with the modal particles *dē* and *dā* respectively (§ 281 (*b*)).

All these tenses have essentially the following

[1] The irregular form *ni*- is employed in this function with the verb *zānin* 'know' (in Sur. also *ī* with *twānin* 'be able'). The verbs *nāsin* 'know', *īyān*, Shn. *qārin* 'be able', *vyān* 'be necessary' and *wērān* 'dare' take the general negative affix *na*- in these tenses, not *nā*-.

[2] There are no recorded examples of a negative of the Present Imperfect tense.

PRESENT PERSONAL ENDINGS:

| | Sur. | Ak., Am. | Zx., Shn. | Gul. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im* | *-im* | *-im* | *-im* | *-im* |
| 2 | *-ī* | *-ī* | *-ī* | *-ē* | *-ī* |
| 3 | *-ī(t)*, *-ī(tin)* | *-īt(in)*,[1] *-it-*[2] | *-it(in)* | *-it* | *-a* |
| Pl. 1 | *-īn* | *-īn* | *-īn* | *-īn* | *-in* |
| 2, 3 | *-in* | *-in* | *-in* | *-in* | |

In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modifications, given in detail below (*b*).

(*b*) Thus, when the present stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *b-* 'be', *č-* 'go'

| | Sur. | Ak., Am. | Zx., Shn. | Gul. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *abím* | *tbim* | *tbim* | *tbim* | *dibim* |
| 2 | *abī* | *tbī* | *tbī* | *tbē* | *dibī* |
| 3 | *abī(t)*, *abī(tin)* | *tbīt(in)*, Ak. *tčit-* | *tbit* | *tbit* | *diba* |
| Pl. 1 | *abīn* | *tbīn* | *tbīn* | *tbīn* | *dibin* |
| 2, 3 | *abin* | *tbin* | *tbin* | *tbin* | |

*Note.* The verb *bón* does not normally take the prefix *b(i)-* in the Present Subjunctive, which appears as *bim*, *bī*, *bīt(in)*, &c.

(ii) *-ē-*, e.g. *(h)ē-* 'come', Sur. *nē-* 'put'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *anḗm*, *tēm* | *tēm*[3,4] | *tēm* | *tēm* |
| 2 | *anēy* | *tēy* | *tēy* | *tē* |
| 3 | *anē(t)* | *tēt(in)* | *tēt* | *tēt* |
| Pl. 1 | *anēyn* | *tēyn* | *tēyn* | *tēn* [sic] |
| 2, 3 | *anēn* | *tēn* | *tēn* | *tēn* |

[1] i.e. Ak. [-i:t'], Am., Bar. [-i:t].

[2] The form *-it-* occurs, in Ak. only, in unstressed position before the vowel of an enclitic. When the verb is monosyllabic, and with the verb *bón* 'be' generally, the full ending *-it* is preserved, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā čita čyāy* (v. § 142 (*b*)): he would go to the mountain
but 616 *čita maktabē*: (when) he goes to school

[3] Note the reduction before an enclitic in:

Ak. 533 *dā nima māl*: I (must) put . . . down at home (*nān*, *nē-*, Am. *n-*),
but 685 *rā nēma nārē*: I (shall) sit down (*ništin*, *nē-*, Am. *n-*)

[4] In Am. an intrusive *-h-*, common in noun forms (e.g. Am. *bēhn*: Ak. *bēn* 'breath') may occur in verbal forms also, e.g.

Am. 706 *bēhna darva*: (they) should come out
(cf. Nikitine, *BSOS*, III. 89, **bihēta ēra*: he should come hither)

(iii) *-a-*, e.g. *ka-* 'do' (but Zx., &c., *k-*, as (i) above)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *akám* | *tkam* | *thim* | |
| 2 | *akay* | *tkay* | &c. | |
| 3 | *akat* | *tkat(in)* | | |
| Pl. 1 | *akayn* | *tkayn* | | |
| 2, 3 | *akan* | *tkan* | | |

(iv) *-ō-*, *-ô-*, *-u-*, e.g. *xō-*, *xô-*, *xu-* 'eat'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *axôm* | *txôm* | *txum* | *txum* |
| 2 | *axôy* | *txôy* | *txwī* | *txwē* |
| 3 | *axōt* | *txôt* | *txut* | *txut* |
| Pl. 1 | *axōyn* | *txôyn* | *txwīn* | *txwīn* |
| 2, 3 | *axōn* | *txôn* | *txun* | *txun* |

(v) *-I-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *rī-* 'defecate'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *arīm* | *tgirīm* | *tgirīm* |
| 2 | *arī* | *tgirī* | *tgirīē* |
| 3 | *arī(t)* | *tgirīt* | *tgirīt* |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *arīn* | *tgirīn* | *tgirīn* |

## Substantive Verb

§ 284. (*a*) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 283 (*b*) (i)) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

| | Sur. | Ak., &c. | Gul. | Zx. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im* | *-im/-ma* | = | *-im/-ma* | *-im/-ma* |
| 2 | *-I* | *-I/-y* | *-ē* | *-I/ ?* | *-I/-yI* |
| 3 | *-a, -t-* | *-a/-(y)a* | = | *-a/-ya, ? -na* | *-a/-ya* |
| Pl. 1 | *-in* | *-in/-yna* | = | *-in/ ? -na* | *-in/-na* |
| 2, 3 | *-in* | *-in/-na* | = | *-in/-nin* | |

where the second forms in each case appear in postvocalic position. The *-(y)-* of the 3rd Sg. forms is realized after all vowels except *I*, *ā*.

Examples:

Ak. 589 *ax*-im: I am, it is I
586 *ax mēvānē ta*-ma: I am thy guest
544 *dinyā hatāv*-a: the weather (lit. 'world') is sunny
549 *kayfā ta*-ya: it is thy pleasure
560 *hung kī*-na: who are you?
561 *am dix*-īn: we are thieves
658 *am sē*-yna: we are three

Am. 705A *t rā wasīyāy*-na: they are standing
720 *ḥačīka xalkē āmēdīē*-na *hamī kurd*-in: as for the people of Amadiye, they are all Kurds
Bar. 736 *az kurē kē*-ma: whose son am I?
Zx. — *am sē čār . . . ž kullīā ma*-na: we are three or four from our college
771 *zāxô . . . sar mûsildā*-na: Zakho is above Mosul
783 *sih ṭā yē tēdā*-nin: there are thirty branches in it

(*b*) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

| | Sur., Ak. | Am.–Zx. | Cf. KK |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *nīṃa* | *nīnim* | *nīnim* |
| 2 | *nī* < **nīy* | *nīnī* | *nīnī* |
| 3 | *nīa* | *nīna* | *nīna* |
| Pl. 1 | *nīna* < **nīyna* | *nīnīn* | *nīnin* |
| 2, 3 | *nīna* | *nīnin* | |

Examples:

Ak. 535 *dyār* nia: it is not visible
596 *ma* nīna: we have none (*v.* § 293 (*a*))
656 *tāqatā madā* ni: thou art not within our power
Am. 710 *mā . . . aw* nīna: is it not that?
719 *či mināra wakī wē* nīnin: there are no minarets like it
Gul. 770 *ta šôl . . .* nīna: it is no affair of thine
Zx. 786 *masalā dizīā . . .* nina: there is no question of theft

## Imperative

§ 285. (*a*) The Imperative is formed from the present stem by the addition, normally, of the prefix *b*(*i*)- (negative *ná*-) and the following endings:

Sg. 2 *-a*, Pl. 2 *-in*, when the stem ends in a consonant,
-Q *-n*, ,, ,, vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in:

(i) a consonant,

Ak. 531 *bīna*: bring! (*īn*-)
558 *bīnin*: bring ye!
Am. — *rû na*: sit down! (*n*-)
706 *rû nin*: sit ye down!

(ii) *-ē-*,

Ak. 558 *fâ nē*: sit down! (*nē-*)
537 *dā nēn*: put ye down! (*nē-*)
565 *dā ninava*[1]: put ye down again!

(iii) *-a-*,

Ak. 532, Am. 711A *bīka*: make! (*ka-*)
Ak. 531 *bidava*: give back! (*da-*, *-va*)

(iv) *-ó-*, *-ó-*, *-u-*,

Ak. — *bixó*: eat! (*xó-*)
Gul. — *bixwa*, Zx. — *bixó*: eat! (*xu-*)

(v) *-ī-*,

Ak. — *nagirī*: don't cry! (*girī-*)

(*b*) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur:

Sur. 505 *harū*: go!
Ak., Am. *hara*, *harin*: go! go ye!
[*načа*, *načīn*: do not go! (*č-*) are regular]
*wara*, *warin*: come! come ye!
[*nahē*, Zx. *na-ē*: do not come! ((*h*)*ē*) are regular]
Gul. *nawa*, *nawin*: do not come!
Am., Gul. 752 *hīló*: get up!

## Past Tenses

§ 286. (*a*) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as follows:

PAST PERSONAL ENDINGS:

| | Sur., Ak.–Zx., Shn. | Gul. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-im* | *-im* | *-im* |
| 2 | *-ī* | *-ē* | *-ī* |
| 3 | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø |
| Pl. 1 | *-īn* | *-īn* | *-in* |
| 2, 3 | *-in* | *-in* | |

[1] From *nē-*, cf. fn. 3, p. 182.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(*i*) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/t-* 'come'

| | Sur. | Ak. | Zx. | Gul. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | | *hātim* | | *hātim* | *hātim* |
| 2 | | *hātī* | | *hātē* | *hātī* |
| 3 | = Ak. | *hāt* | = Ak. | *hāt* | *hāt* |
| Pl. 1 | | *hātin* | | *hātin* | *hātin* |
| 2, 3 | | *hātin* | | *hātin* | |

(ii) *-ē-, -ō-*, e.g. Sur. *bē-*, Ak. *bō-* 'be', Zx. *čō-* 'go'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *bēm* | *bōm* | *čōm* | *čōm* |
| 2 | *bēy* | *bōy* | *čōy* | *čōē* |
| 3 | *bē* | *bō* | *čō* | *čō* |
| Pl. 1 | *bēyn* | *bōyn* | *čōyn* | *čōyn* |
| 2, 3 | *bēn* | *bōn* | *čōn* | *čōn* |

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | | *mām* | | *mām* |
| 2 | | *māy* | | *māē* |
| 3 | = Ak. | *mā* | = Ak. | *mā* |
| Pl. 1 | | *māyn* | | *māyn* |
| 2, 3 | | *mān* | | *mān* |

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', Zx., Gul. *bī-* 'be'

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | | *girīm* | *bīm* | *bīm* |
| 2 | = Ak. | *girī* | *bī* | *bīē* |
| 3 | | | | *bī* |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | | *girīn* | *bīn* | *bīn* |

§ 287. (*a*) The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the Past tense by the addition of the prefix *t-*, &c. (§ 281 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak., &c., Sg. *tbōm, tbōy, tbō*; Pl. *tbōyn, tbōn*
Zx. Sg. 1 *tbīm*, 2, 3 *tbī*; Pl. 1, 2, 3 *tbīn*
Ak. *thātim*, &c., is frequently reduced to *tātim*, &c.

(*b*) In no Bad. dialect is a Past Conditional tense attested (cf. fn. 1, p. 189).

In KK, BX such a tense is formed from the simple past tense by the addition of the prefix *b(i)-* and the following combinations

of the 'conditional' infix *-ā-* (sometimes repeated as a suffix) and the past personal endings:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *-(ā)m(ā)* | |
| 2 | *-āyī* | |
| 3 | *-ā* | |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *-(ā)n(ā)* | |

| Examples: | KK §§ 285, 299 | | Celadet BX[1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *būmā* | *biǩatāmā* | *biǩatām* |
| 2 | *būyāyī* | *biǩatāyī* | *biǩatāyī* |
| 3 | *būyā* | *biǩatā* | *biǩatā* |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *būnā* | *biǩatānā* | *biǩatān* |

This tense may further take the modal particles KK *ē* (*wē*), BX *dē* (*v.* § 281 (*b*)).

§ 288. (*a*) The Past Participle is formed from the past stem by the addition of the morpheme *-ī*, *-y*, thus:

Ak., &c., *hātī*, *čôy*, *māy*, *girī* (<**girīy*)

Ak., Am. *bón* 'be' has the irregular participle *bī*, cf. Zx., &c., *bīn* 'be', participle regularly *bī*.

(*b*) The Past Participle may function simply as an adjective, e.g.

Ak. — *tē gahištī*: intelligent (*tē gahištin* 'understand')
Zx. 777 *awā čē-kirī*: the artificial one (*čē kirin* 'make')

See also the compound forms, § 318 (*a*).

## Compound Tenses

§ 289. (*a*) The Perfect Indicative I is formed from the Past Participle and the enclitic (present) forms of the substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)) as auxiliary.[2]

[1] From Hawar (*v.* § 160), *no.* 26, p. 15; (Kamuran) BX 142 differs.

[2] In Gul. the only Perfect I forms attested are formed from the past *stem* and the auxiliary, viz.

Gul. — *min dinyā nadîta*: I have not seen the world
753 *ta bô čī* . . . kuîta: why hast thou killed . . . ?
765 *Kasê* . . . *nagôta min*: nobody has said to me (questionably Perfect)

Perfect II forms (*v.* (*c*) below) are, however, regularly formed.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/ī-* 'come'

| | Sur., Ak.–Zx. | Cf. KK, BX |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *hātīma* | *hātīma* |
| 2 | *hātī* (< **hātī-y*)[1] | *hātī(y)ī* |
| 3 | *hātīa* | *hātī(y)a* |
| Pl. 1 | *hātīna* (< **hātī-yna*) | *hātīna* |
| 2, 3 | *hātīna* | |

(ii) *-ū-, -ō-*, e.g. *čū-, čō-* 'go'

| | |
|---|---|
| Sg. | *čōyma, čōy, čōya* |
| Pl. | *čōyna* |

(iii) *-ā-*, e.g. *mā-* 'stay'

| | |
|---|---|
| Sg. | *māyma, māy, māya* |
| Pl. | *māyna* |

(iv) *-ī-*, e.g. *girī-* 'weep', *bī-* 'be'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. | *girīma, girī, girīa* | Zx. *bīma, bī, bīa* |
| Pl. | *girīna* | *bīna* |

(*c*) In certain contexts (*v.* § 313) a Perfect Indicative II form occurs, in which the auxiliary verb loses the final vowel *-a* where it is present in the Perfect I forms.[2] Thus (cf. (*b*) (i) above),

| | Ak.–Zx. | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *hātīm* | |
| 2 | *hātī* | |
| 3 | *hātī* | Sur. also *hātī* |
| Pl. 1, 2, 3 | *hātīn* | but *hātīna* |

§ 290. (*a*) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past *stem* and the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses respectively of the auxiliary, Ak. *bôn*, Zx. *bīn* (§§ 283 (*b*), 286 (*b*)).[3]

[1] Distinguished from the Past tense form (§ 286 (*b*)) by the position of the stress. With past stems ending in a vowel no such distinction is possible.

[2] The appearance of the 1st Sg. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd Pl. forms with 'post-consonantal' forms of the enclitic verb (§ 284 (*a*)) is deceptive. The loss of the vowel is probably on the analogy of the 3rd Sg. form with its omission of the enclitic (cf. § 309 (*c*)).

[3] The verb *bôn*, &c., 'be' itself has the irregular reduced stem *bī-* in these tenses: thus Ak. has Perfect Subjunctive *bîm*, &c. (not Present Subjunctive, q.v. § 283 (*b*) (i)), Pluperfect *bîbûm*, &c.

(*b*) Thus, when the past stem ends in:

(i) a consonant, e.g. *hāt/t-* 'come'

Perfect Subjunctive

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. | *hátbim*, | *hātbi*, *hātbit* |
| Pl. | *hātbin*, | *hātbin* |

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *hátbôm*, &c. Zx. *hátbīm*, &c.

(ii) a vowel, e.g. *čó-* 'go'

Perfect Subjunctive

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sg. | *čóbim*, | *čóbi*, *čóbit* |
| Pl. | *čóbin*, | *čóbin* |

Pluperfect

Ak., &c., *čóbôm*, &c. Zx. *čóbīm*, &c.

§ 291. A Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the Past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb Ak. *bón*, Zx. *bīn*,[1] with the 'conditional' infix *-ā-*, sometimes repeated, and past endings (§ 286 (*a*)). In Zx., Gul. the *-ī-* of the 1st Pl., and occasionally of the 2nd Sg., ending is lost. Thus:

| | Ak., Am. | Zx. | Gul. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. 1 | *čó-*, &c., *-bāmā* | *-bām* | *-bāmā* |
| 2 | *-bāyā* | *-bā(y)* | *-bāē* |
| 3 | *-bā* | *-bā* | *-bā* |
| Pl. 1 | *-bāynā* | *-bān* | *-bān(ā)* |
| 2, 3 | *-bānā* | | |

For examples, see § 309.

## Summary

§ 292. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

[1] The substantive verb has the irregular stem *bi-* in this tense also (cf. previous fn.). The form may then be further reduced, thus Perfect Conditional 3rd Sg. *bibā* > *bā*, giving the appearance of a Past Conditional tense (formed without an auxiliary verb from the past stem), but see § 287 (*b*).

Present Indicative (§ 283)
*t-káv-im*, &c.

Future (§ 283)
*dē káv-im*, &c.

Present Imperfect (§ 283)
*dā káv-im*, &c.

Present Subjunctive (§ 283)
*bi-kav-im*, &c.

Imperative (§ 285)
*bi-kav-a*, &c.

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Past (§ 286)
*kā(f)t-im*, &c.

Past Imperfect (§ 287 (*a*))
*t-kā(f)t-im*, &c.

[Past Conditional (§ 287 (*b*))
*bi-kat-ām(ā)*, &c.]

---

Past Participle (§ 288)
*ka(f)t-i*

Perfect Indicative I (§ 289)
*ka(f)tī-ma*, &c.

Perfect Indicative II (§ 289 (*c*))
*ka(f)tī-m*, &c.

---

Pluperfect (§ 290)
*kā(f)t-bām*, &c.

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 290)
*kā(f)t-bim*, &c.

Perfect Conditional (§ 291)
*kā(f)t-bām(ā)*, &c.

### Certain Verbs

§ 293. (*a*) The morpheme *ha-* with the verb *bún*, &c., yields the defective verb *habún*, &c., 'exist'. Commonly only 3rd person forms are met (KK § 275 has all persons, *hama*, *hayī*, *haya*, *hana*, &c., but without examples). The negative is provided by the simple forms *nīa*, &c. (§ 284 (*b*)).

In conjunction with the Oblique case forms of nouns and pronouns this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus:

| | Ak., &c. | Sur. |
|---|---|---|
| Present Indicative I | | |
| 'there is' | *haya* | *haya* |
| 'there are' | *hana* | *hayna* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 'I have' | *min haya, hana* | |
| 'we have' | *ma haya, hana*, &c. | |
| Present Subjunctive | | |
| 'if there be' | *habīt, habin* | |
| Past, Past Imperfect | | |
| 'there was, were, used to be' | *habó, habón* | Zx. *habī, habīn* |
| Perfect I | | |
| 'there has been' | *habīa, habīna* | |
| Perfect Conditional | | |
| 'if there has been' | *habā* (cf. fn. 1, p. 189) | |

Examples:

Ak. — ta *qalam* haya: hast thou a pen?
— min *šól* habô: I had work (to do)
544 *mirôvak* haya: there is a man
579 *har kasakē māramak* habā: whoever might have (had) a wish
582 *ḫākimēt* habīn: there have been rulers (*v.* § 313 (*a*))
619 ta *šāhid* hana: hast thou witnesses?
Am. 703 *ḫākimaki sē kuf* habôn: a ruler had three sons
Bar. 727 *haft kuf* wi habôn: he had seven sons
Gul. 749 *sē kuf* habīn *gal kičak:* (he) had three sons and a daughter

(*b*) In affirmative sentences only, the Demonstrative Izafe appears with the Present Indicative of this verb in a modified form. The 3rd Sg. form loses the final vowel *-a* and an analogical 3rd Pl. is formed (cf. Perfect Indicative II, § 289 (*c*)), thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'there is' | *y/wē*, &c., *hay* | Sur. also *hay* | |
| 'there are' | *y/wēt* *hayn* | but *hayna* | |

Examples:

Sur. — *šūr-īn* wā hay: we have work (to do) (*šūr* F.)
— *sē kuf-im* wē hayna: I have three sons
Ak. 580 *awī ēzyāy ma'lûm šólakā* hay: that serpent certainly has some business (*šól* F.)
583 *mirôvakē* hay: there is a man (*mirôv* M.)
586 *min birāyakē dīka* yē hay: I have another brother (*birā* M.)

Am. 709 *bāltī āgirē* hay: Bahlul has a fire (*āgir* M.)
718 yēt *lē* hayn *sē dargah*: there are three gates in it
Bar. 740 *žinkak* wā hay: there is (such) a woman (*žink* F.)
Zx. 771 *filahēt* hayn *ō bisirmān žī* yēt hayn[1]: there are Christians and there are Moslems also
772 *dihī l xāxó* wēt hayn[1]: there are Dihis (Armenian refugees from Dihé) in Zakho

The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted, the Present II appearing alone, in the following construction:

Ak. 638 *čand . . . xēřēt wē* hayn: as many gold ornaments as she has
673 *čand nivtnkēt hungō* hayn *bīnin*: bring as many bed-clothes as you have

**§ 294.** The verb *vyān* 'be necessary', Sur. *wīstin*, is passive throughout.[2] It normally appears with the Oblique case form of the agential noun or pronoun, thus:

Sur. *amin awē*: I want
Ak., &c. *min tvēt*: I want
*min navēt*[3]: I do not want
*min tvyā*: I wanted

Examples:

Ak. — min tvēt *ax bičīmava*: I want to go back
575 ta *čī* tvēt: what dost thou want?
595 birāž *min masraf* tvēt: my brother needs (money for) expenses
633 ta *ax* navēm: thou dost not want me
643 ama *hasp* navēn: we do not want horses
644 min *tō xōš* vyāy: I took a liking to thee
Am. 712 awī tvyā . . . *bībat*: he wanted to take . . .
711A mi *ž hinga* tvētin: I want from you . . .

[1] These two examples at least suggest that the choice between the forms *yē* and *wē* of the Demonstrative Izafe may be determined in part by the nature of the preceding sounds.

[2] No distinction in meaning between Ak. *vyān* and Sul., &c., *wīstin* 'want' (§ 220) is intended, but such forms as Ak. *navēm* = *ḥaz lē nākam* 'I do not like it', Zx. *wān tvēn* 'they want', occurring under the influence of the more common active verbs, indicate in effect the development of a new verb, as yet defective, *vyān* 'like, want'.

[3] See fn. 1, p. 181.

§ 295. (*a*) The forms *tbīt*[1] (formally 3rd Sg. Present) and *tvyā* (3rd Sg. Past Imperfect of *vyān*, § 294) appear equally in the present with the meaning 'must, ought'. In the past only *tvyā* occurs.

Examples:

Ak. — *či az bēžim* tvyā *tô r̄āst bikay:* thou must do whatever I say
— tvyā *nôka bičim*: I must go now
— *ān* tbīt *zû bičim ān har načim*: either I should go soon or not at all
— tvyā *duhû čôbāmā*: I should have gone yesterday

(*b*) The particle *bilā* has the sense of 'let . . .', e.g.

Ak. 662 bilā: so be it!
567 bilā *hal girin*: let them take it up

See also § 310 (*c*).

## Passive Construction

§ 296. (*a*) The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs are conjugated in the same manner as Intransitive verbs, but the forms have Passive sense throughout[2], e.g.

Ak. 546 *bāpīrē ma . . . l baḫaštē* hāvēt*a darē*: our ancestor was thrown out of Paradise (*hāvētin* 'throw')
567 *sindôqā* škāndī: the Treasury has been broken (into) (*škāndin* 'break')
572 *aw har sē diz* birin*a lālī*: all three of these thieves were taken before him (*birin* 'take')
632 *az darmān* kirim: I was treated with medicine
Am. 703 *sē paẕ* kušťin: three sheep were killed (*kušťin* 'kill')
705 *ẕād* īnā: food was brought (*īnān* 'bring')
Zx. 787 *az ťa'īn* kirim: I was appointed
781 *az ô aw āšť* kirīn: he and I were reconciled

[1] Sur. *tabī . . . bistīnī* 'thou must take . . .', apparently for **abī* under the influence of Ak. *tbīt*. Cf. the Sur. prepositions, § 301 (*a*).

[2] Only in Zx. are there occasional signs of the development of active meaning through assimilation to the Intransitive conjugation, e.g.

Zx. 775 *kičīk girťin ô kušťin*: they seized the girl and killed her

Frequently the Agent, though not expressed, is obvious from the context, e.g.

Ak. 531 *r̄ôžakē čô čyāy, ṯayrakē zēr̄* girt: one day he went to the mountains (and by him) a gold bird was caught

532 *aw . . . harsēk birāēt yēk bôn, gōta xudānē ṯayrī*: they were all three brothers (and by them) it was said to the owner of the bird

533 *gašta birāē māztirē, milē xô l milē wī* dā: 'she' reached the eldest brother (and by 'her') her shoulder was struck against his shoulder

Am. 706 *aw r̄ā bô, k̄ēlikak* īnā *darva*: he got up (and by him) a cat was brought out

Zx. 774 *aw husłāē kô av p̄irā hanē* āvā kirī . . .: the mason who (by him) this bridge has been built . . .

(*b*) When an Agent is expressed it is in the Oblique case, e.g.

Sur. — *kāyaz-ū niwīsī* / angō *kāyaz niwīsī* } have you written the letter?

509 *źinakē gā bird*: the woman took the ox

509 *wakī gā-y bird*: when she took the ox

Ak. 533 žinakē *gôtē*[1]: the woman said to him

536 aḫmadī *zānī*: Ahmed knew

538 min *aśyāē hungô bir*: I have taken your things

539 ḫākimī . . . *gôtī*[2]: the governor said . . .

539 min *tô 'afô kirī*: I have forgiven thee

542 aḫmadī *ḫākim t sindôqē nā*: Ahmed put the governor into the chest

Am. 705 bālīlī *k̄ēlikak kir t barīk̄ā xôdā*: Bahlul put a cat into his pocket

709 awā *gôtē*[1], *bilā*: they said to him, 'So be it'

The Oblique case endings may, however, be omitted (§ 261 (*a*)), e.g.

Sur. 508 mirōwaka *gōta źinakē*: the man said to the woman

Ak. 534 kābrā *das hāvēta žinakē*: the fellow reached for the woman

535 kas *fābā wā nadā*: nobody answered them

537 aḫmad *gôtē*[1] . . .: Ahmed said to him . . .

Am. 707 bālīl *sē ṯanûrvān girtin*: Bahlul took three bakers

[1] -*ē*, cf. § 302 (*b*). [2] Cf. fn. 1, p. 212.

## Passive Periphrasis

§ 297. (*a*) There is no secondary passive conjugation.[1] The past tenses of all Transitive verbs have passive meaning (§ 296).

(*b*) To express a passive without reference to an agent recourse may be had to a periphrasis with the verb *hātin* 'come' and the preposition *-a* (§ 301 (*c*)) governing the infinitive of the Transitive verb, e.g.

Ak. — *watuv* dē hēta *kuštin*: that way he will be killed
— *sēvēt xirāb* tēna *istī'māl kirin bô 'alafē ḫaywānā*: the bad apples are used for animal fodder
569 *čand dizīē* . . . hātīna *kirin*: as many thefts as have been committed
569 *sindôq* . . . *yā* hātīa *škāndin*: the Treasury has been broken (into) (cf. § 296 (*a*))
Zx. 773 *wē* hātī (? for *hālīa*) *āvā kirin*: has been built

## Causative Conjugation

§ 298. The Causative of an Intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morpheme *-īn-* to the present stem of the Intransitive verb yields the present stem of the Causative verb. If the present stem of the Intransitive verb ends in *-(y)ē-* (*v.* § 322 (*a*)) this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The causative past stem is formed by the substitution of the morpheme *-ānd-* for the *-īn-* of the present stem, thus:

Ak. *kalīn, kal-* 'boil' > *kalīn-, halānd-, kalāndin* 'boil'
*dir̄yān, dir̄yē-* 'tear' > *dir̄īn-, dir̄ānd-, dir̄āndin* 'tear'
*girīn, girī-* 'weep' > *girīn*[2], *giryānd-, giryāndin* 'make weep'

## Compound Verbs

§ 299. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (§ 300) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. These do not differ

[1] The solitary *-rē-* passive (cf. § 231) *kirē-* 'be done' appears in Ak., e.g.
Ak. — *watuvīš talafux* tkirēt: it is pronounced so also
569 *ma ču pē* nākirēt: nothing can be done by us

[2] *girīn-* < **girī-īn-*.

in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal affix *b(i)-* (§ 281 (*a*)) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Ak. 584 *ḫyā . . . lē war girīt*: he could take . . . from him (*war girtin*)
584 *f̄ā nē*: sit down! (*f̄ā nīštin*)
Am. 704 *ḫaḫ ẓindóqā čē ka*: make six chests! (*čē kirin*)

but, with *b(i)-*,

Gul. 758 *xudān* bi*kē*: that thou mayest nourish him ((*ṗ*) *xudān kirin*)

The meaning of compound verbs is a matter of lexicon.

## PARTICLES

### Preverbs

§ 300. There are two types of preverb:

(*a*) The adverbs *dā*, *dar*, *ḫal* (Sur. *ḫar*, Zx., Gul. *ḫil*), *f̄ā*, *f̄ā*, *va* (Sur. *wa*), *war* and the suffix *-(a)va* (Sur. *-(a)wa*, Zx., Gul., *-va*). These preverbs, including *va*, generally modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, e.g.

Ak. *kirin* : *va kirin* : *f̄ā kirin* — do : open : lift
*xārin* : *va xārin* — eat : drink

The main function of the suffix *-(a)va*, &c., is to give the sense of repetition or reversion. It then appears alone, e.g.

Ak. 531 *dā bavā bó xó*: he used to take it back for himself
531 *bidava*: give it back!
538 *ḫatā zivirīnava saḫ thanē . . .*: by the time they returned they saw (that . . .)
581 *yē vēk hātīava*: it has come together again
Am. 703 *ḫarē xó dīḫava l bin qēlīčhak*: they saw their donkey again under a nut-shell
Gul. 769, Zx. 775 *zivirīnva*: they returned
Zx. 786 *dē bimīnva*: he will see it again

In Ak. it may also appear reduplicating the preverb *va*, e.g.

Ak. 533 va *gaṙyāva*: he returned
534 *darik bó* va *ḫirava*: opened the door for him
562 *dē* va *binava*: (doors) will open
605 *waxtē* . . . va *xundava gāz kir*: when he read it he called

In Ak., Am., when a verb with this suffix immediately precedes either a complementary adverb or an indirect object, the suffix appears as *-(a)v* (*v.* § 172 (*a*)), e.g.

Ak. 581 *hātav xārē*: he came down again
581 *ēzyā čōv ǯōr*: the serpent went back inside
582 *ava mārī dānav min*: the snake gave me these
665 *hātinav mazalkā kuřakaydā*: they came back into the boy's room
666 *čōnav bar dikan*: they went back to the shop
Am. 708 *dā bēhnav baydā*: in order to return to Baghdad
709 *dē . . . awī danav min*: you will give that baek to me
710 *čōv mālā xō*: went back to his house

(*b*) The 'absolute' forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēva*, *pēk*, &c. (§ 302 (*c*)).

## Pre- and Postpositions

§ **301.** (*a*) The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the Oblique case. The following are attested:

*l*[1] (Sur. *la* (cf. § 236), KK, BX *li*) 'at, from'[2]
*p*[3] (Sur. *pa*, KK, BX *bi*) 'to'
*t*[3] (Sur. *ta*, KK, BX *di*) 'at'
*v* 'to'
*ǯ* Am.–Zx. only (KK, BX *ǯi*) 'from'
*a* 'to'
*bō* (Sur. *la bō*, KK, BX *bōnā*) 'for' (*v.* also §§ 148, 276 (*b*))
*ḫatā* (Am., &c., *ḫalā*) 'till'
*bē* 'without'
*gal*, *tgal*, *lgal* (Sur. *tagar*, BX *digal*) 'with'
*wakō*, *hakō* (Am., &c., *wakī*) 'like'

(*b*) Both alone and in conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic 'postpositions' occur:

*-dā* (BX *da*), *-řā* (BX *ra*), *-va* (Sur. *-awa*, KK *-vā*, BX *va*)

[1] Concerning the realization of these minimal forms, see §§ 154, 159.
[2] English equivalents of the prepositions are given only as approximate labels.
[3] i.e. Ak. [p', t'], Am., &c. [p, t]. The traditional spelling is *bi*, *di*, with KK, BX. Huart's text (op. cit., p.158 above), however, agrees with these our dialects, having ب ت *p(i)*, *t(i)* throughout (cf. fn. 1, p. 180).

Thus, in combination,

*p . . . -va* 'with', *t . . . -dā* 'in', *t . . . -tā* 'into', &c.

Note Ak. *l bar-va-tā* 'from in front', with two postpositions.

(*c*) *a* only occurs in conjunction with a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Ak. 544 *hāt-a garmānē*: came to the low country
549 *čón-a lāli čēlē*: they went to the cow
Am. 713 *čóyn-a čyāy*: we went to the mountain(s)

Following a verbal form ending in *a, ā, ó* the preposition *a* is not realized, e.g.

Ak. 545 čô *barakā kābrāy*: it went in front of the fellow
(cf. 547 *xivirī-a barakā min*: it went back in front of me)
581 čô *žór ó hāt-a darē*: went inside and came out
Am. 704 čô *nik naǰārī*: went to a carpenter
(cf. 709 *aw čón-a nik*: they went to (him))

*a* may also be followed hy *t . . . -dā* with the sense 'into', e.g.

Ak. 544 *kira* t *ǰandikēdā*: he put it into the bag
695 *xó hāvēta* t *bīrēdā*: she threw herself into the well
Am. 704 *kirina* t *ǰindóqādā*: he put them into the boxes
Zx. 773 *waxtê kô tēta* t *xāxódā*: when it comes into Zakho
779 *xó bāvēma* t *āvēdā*: (if) I throw myself into the water

hut is not, apparently, realized after a final *t* in this context, e.g.

Zx. 779 *tó tlêy xó bāvēšī* t *āvēdā*: can you throw yourself into the water?
781 *min xó āvēlī* t *āvēdā*: I have thrown myself into the water

(*d*) An Ohlique nominal form, ungoverned by a preposition, may nevertheless have dative, ahlative, locative, &c., sense, e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakē xangilak pēva kir*: attached a bell *to* each curl
550 *az gólik bóm mālā xudānē xó*: I was a calf *in* my master's house
565 *hindak davē xó nā*: he put some *into* his mouth
Am. 705 *dā nā 'ardakī*: they camped *at* a place
718 *amēt . . . tāxivīn āmēdīē*: we are talking *in* Amadiye
Zx. 784 *čôbin makahē*: they had been *to* Mecca

§ 302. (*a*) Corresponding to the simple prepositions *l*, *p*, *t*, *v*, *ž*; *a* there are the following 'absolute' forms: *lē*, *pē*, *tē*, *vē*, *žē*[1]; *ē*.

The correspondence is not always regular, e.g.

Am., Zx. — *dā* p *mīrā gahī*: thou wouldst have met me
*dā* vēīā *gahīn*: we would have met him

*bó* and *tgal*, &c., are also employed absolutely.

(*b*) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the exception of *ē*, stand independently. They do not govern another form, but give the sense of a 3rd person pronoun governed by the preposition, e.g.

Ak. 541 *gardanā xó* pē *āzā kam*: that I may take leave of them (lit. 'free my neck *from them*')
568 *sē mirōvēt* lē: there are three men *in it*
584 *kābrā* tgal *čó*: the fellow went *with him*
Am. 703 *gōšt* žē *rā bó*: the meat rose *out of it*
714 *am* . . . žē *tirsyāyn*: we were afraid *of them*

*ē*, like *a* (§ 301 (*c*)), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Ak. 536 *saḥ tkat*-ē: he looks *at them*
547 *hindak āx min* bó *kir*-ē: I put some earth *into it* (-*ē*) for it (*bó*)
Am. 712 *daynē wī fū dā*-ē: gave the Jew's loan back *to him*

(*c*) With the postpositions *-dā*, *-rā*, *-va* the absolute forms *pēdā*, *pēva*, *tēdā*, *tērā*, &c., are formed.

The absolute forms *lēk*, *pēk*, *tēk*, *vēk*, *? žēk* appear with the meaning of '. . . one another' and the appropriate preposition (cf. § 237 (*c*)), e.g.

Ak. 553 lēk *rā nābirin*: they do not pass by one another
559 *am* . . . pēk *hātīn*: we have come together
549 vēk*rā*: together (with one another)

(*d*) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, *pē*, &c., and their derivatives, *pēva*, *pēk*, &c., may function as preverbs (*v.* § 300 (*b*)).

The simple prepositions are generally 'separable' (*v.* § 237 (*d*)), e.g.

Ak. 584 l *dargāy dā*: he knocked at the door (*l*|*lē dān*)

[1] Although *ž* hardly occurs as a preposition in Ak., *žē* appears as a preverb, e.g. *žē kirin* 'pluck (fruit)'.

The derivatives are generally 'inseparable', e.g.

Ak. 540 *har biskakē zangilak* pēva *kir*: attached a bell to each curl (*pēva kirin*)

In Gul., Zx. certain inseparable preverbs and adverbs have united with the verbal stem and are preceded by the modal prefixes, &c., e.g.

Gul. — *az šīvē nālēnim*: I shall not cook supper
— *bilēna*: cook (it)! (*lēnān*: Ak. *lē nān*)
Gul., Zx. *daynān*: to put down (: Ak. *dā nān*)
Zx. 774 *nāčēbīt hōṭā*: it will not be built thus (*čēbīn*: Ak. *čē bōn*)

§ 303. The simple prepositions form compound prepositions with nouns, adjectives, and certain adverbs. The prepositions may be omitted and the noun, &c., appear alone with prepositional force. The noun, &c., may be followed by the Generic form of the Izafe (§ 263 (*d*)).

Examples: Noun

Sur. 505 *harū* maz *mar̄*: go to (lit. 'before') the sheep
517 la bō maz *yē xwārē čō*: he went in front of the lower one
Ak. — l bin *sivānday*: under the eaves
548 *dē hēt*-a bin *sēbarā min*: will come under my shade
570 *dē* . . . nik *ta r̄ā birim*: I shall pass by near thee
571 *harsēk īnān*-a bar *ṣalbē*: all three were brought before the gallows
572 sar *taxtē xō r̄ū ništ*: sat on his throne
626 pēš *darwēšī kaft*: he went ahead of the dervish
690 *hāvēt*-a pišt *xō*: put her behind himself

Noun + Izafe

Ak. 688 *birin*-a barī *bābē xō*: he took them before his father
*passim*, pāšī *hingī* } after that, afterwards
Am. *passim*, pišti *hingī* }

Adjective

Ak. 647 nēzīkī *dah pānzda r̄ōžā*: for approximately (near to) ten or fifteen days
Am. 714 šībstī *gurg*: like (= such as) wolves
Zx. 785 *ḫalā* nēzīk *r̄azā*: till near the gardens

Adverb

Ak. — darva-y *māl*: outside the house
Zx. 773 ž darvay *zāxó*: outside Zakho

§ 304. Various pre- and postpositions appear with formally plural nouns with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Ak. — *mir tirsēt xódā*: he died of fright (lit. 'in his own fears')
— *mir tirsādā*: he died of fright
Gul. — *dilē min tēšit ž birsā*: my stomach aches with hunger
Zx. — *davē min ḫilk bī ž tēhnā*: my mouth is dry from thirst
784 *ž tēhnā Ḫalbīn hamī*: they had all collapsed from thirst

## Adverbs

§ 305. (*a*) A nominal form, Sg. or Pl., formally Oblique, may have adverbial sense (*v.* § 301 (*d*)), e.g.

Ak. 531 *hamô ŧôžē*: every day, daily
553 *hinda ŧôžā*: for some days
545 *sē čār qûnāyā hāt*: he came for three or four stages
548 *hāvīnē, waxtē garmē*: in summer, in the time of heat
573 vē *halē*: at this time, then
631 *čôma bilādā mi'āmilē*: I went to (many) countries trading
Am. 703 *naqlakē*: once (upon a time)
705 *qônāyakē čôn*: they went for one stage
Gul. 749 *način nēčīrē*: do not go hunting!

(*b*) The suffix *-(ī)l/ł* 'also, even' occurs in Ak. and Sur. only, e.g.

Sur. 506 *šiwānīšim girt*: I took a shepherd also
Ak. 555 *ta davīš lē dirûbô*: hadst thou sewn the mouth of it too?
561 *awīš diza*: he too is a thief
569 *wānīš gôtē*: they too said to him . . .

The form *-š* appears following a vowel, e.g.

Sur. 506 *hingīšīn har āwēt*: then too we winnowed it
514 *hindak pāray māšawa*[1]: he had a little money left too
Ak. 545 *avaš*: this also
550 *nôkaš*: now also
657 *wē ŧôžēš*: that day also
Ak. 700 *malāyš* 'the mullah too', is exceptional.

[1] Cf. § 240 (*c*), end.

In other dialects the independent forms Am. *žī*, Gul., Zx. *žī/i* occur with the same meaning, e.g.

Am. 703A *ḥāḱimī žī ḱarak habô*: the governor had an ass too
Gul. 752 *aw ži kir t xānīva*: put him in the house too
Zx. 782 *gundī ži dē čin*: the villagers also will go
790 *mi žī zaḫmalī . . . dīl*: I had trouble too

With the 1st person pronoun *az* the following contractions occur, Ak. *ayī*, Am., Zx. *ažī* (*v.* § 275 (*a*), Note 3).

Preceding *žī* the adjective *dī* 'other' appears as *di*, e.g.

Am. 706A *galakēt* di žī: many others also
719 *dargahē* di žī: the other gate too
Zx. 785 *hinda ṫrumṕēlēt* di žī: some other cars also

Contrast *dī* used substantively in

Bar. 732 *ṣad* dī *žī*: a hundred others also

(*c*) The suffix *-ānī* with nouns has the sense 'in the manner of . . .', e.g.

Sur. 529 *xōlxōrānī čōē*: he went to it gently
Ak. — *'arabkānī swār bô*: he rode (the donkey) side-saddle (lit. 'Arab-wise')
543 *ṣānī ṙawī*: he barked like a dog (*ṣa*)
543 *karānī ziṙī*: he brayed like an ass

## B. SYNTAX

### Concord

§ 306. (*a*) Since nouns in the Direct case are formally identical in the Sg. and Pl. (§§ 258, 260 (*b*)) only the verbal personal ending indicates the number, thus:

Ak. — *mirôv čô/čôn*: the man/men went
611 *aw bičûk čôn*: those children went
Am. 706 *mišk ḍar ḱaftin*: the mice came out

The concord between personal pronoun and verb is straightforward. The following few examples are obvious anacolutha:

Ak. 560 *hung . . . bibēža* (for **bibēžin*): say (ye)!
562 *az dē šēm xô lē xilās* kayn: *I can free us from it

(*b*) A noun marked by a plural Izafe form (§ 264 (*a*)) normally takes a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 565 *sēā pīltīēt xô dā girtin*: three put down their loads
566 *harsēkā pīltīēt xô xālī kirinava*: all three emptied their loads again
but, 566 *ma piltīēt xô yēt dirust kirī*: we have made up our loads

(*c*) Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction *ô*, *w* 'and', or the preposition *tgal*, &c., 'with', constitute a plural subject and take a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 546 *ču hēva* w *hóva* nīna: there is no shilly-shallying
556 *rīvīak* tgal *qurbałayakī* bōn*a kirik*: a fox and (lit. 'with') a badger became companions
Am. 709 *bāyak* ô *bārān* hātin: a wind and rain came
Gul. 751 *īr* ô *maṭalēt xwa girē* dān: he girt on his sword and shield
Zx. 781 *az* ô *aw ālī* kirīn: he and I were reconciled

## Relative and Subordinate Clauses

§ 307. (*a*) In all dialects Ak.–Zx. the inflexible particle *kô* serves to introduce subordinate clauses, e.g.

Ak. 538 *saḷ tkanē* kô *tiltē wān yē birī*: they see that their things have been taken
548 *dē fā bīt* kô *dē čīt*: he will get up to go
587 *dīt* kô *sa'īdē fā nīštia*: he saw that Said was sitting
Am. 708A *fā bōn* kô *bārēt xô bār kirin*: they got up (so that) they loaded up their loads
Zx. 787 *mi natzānī* . . . kô *ładrīsāł* . . . *p kurdīa*: I did not know that the teaching was in Kurdish

(*b*) A relative clause is normally joined to its antecedent by the appropriate form of the Izafe (§ 263), e.g.

Ak. 578 *har kasakē xāīn bit*: whatever person be treacherous
579 *har kasakē māramak habā*[1]: whatever person might have (had) a desire . . .
606 *aw pārēt* . . . *ta dāna min*: those monies which thou gavest me
Am. 710 *tištē min dāyav hinga*: the thing which I gave you
Zx. 774 *aw kasē awwīlī bēt*: that person who first comes

[1] See § 293 (*a*).

With the omission of the enclitic substantive verb form described at § 309 (*c*) the distinction between a relative clause and an adjectival phrase is formally removed, e.g.

Ak. 543 *aw ḫākimē t sindôqēdā ʒānī ʃawī*: that governor (who is) in the chest barked like a dog

Am. 707A *aw tiŝtē binē baḫrēdā*: those things (which are) at the bottom of the sea

When the relative clause is separated from its antecedent it is introduced by the appropriate form of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 266), e.g.

Ak. 575 *azē*[1] *hātîma wē darrôkā zêrā, yā ʃubay zû filān kasî indy*: I have come for that kerchief (full) of gold which so-and-so brought early this morning

Gul. 757 *aw axim yē birāā ta az kuŝtîm*: I am he whom thy brother has killed

(*c*) Alternatively a relative clause may be introduced by the particle *kô*, with or without the Izafe,[2] e.g.

Ak. — *sar āvā kô tēit l dirēžāīlā gaît*: over the river which goes along the valley (*āv* F.)

535 *kāyazak dît kô yā nivîsî*[1] . . .: (they) saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)

593 *aw masalā kô az bô hātîm*[1]: that question about which I have come (*masala* F.)

Zx. 774 *aw husîāē kô av ʃirā hanē āvā kirî*: the mason who built this (here) bridge (*husîā* M.)

## Use of Tenses

§ 308. (*a*) The Present Indicative has aorist sense, e.g.

Ak. 561 *atô čî* tzānî: what dost thou know?

562 (*akar ʒa bîfawēt*) *az tē* tgahim *aw čî* tbēžît: (if a dog barks) I understand what it says

Am. 719 tbēn*a dargahakî dargahē zêbārē*: they call one gate the Zebar Gate

The sense of continuity, of a state or action in progress, is given by a construction described in detail at § 309.

[1] See § 313.

[2] The particle *kô* may even intrude in the normal Izafe construction (§ 263 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 622 *awē kô xudānē pāra*: he, the owner of the money

(*b*) Future time is expressed by the simple present tense and the particle *dē* (§ 281 (*b*)). This normally comes at the beginning of the sentence or clause, either preceding or following a subject expressed, e.g.

Ak. 539 *az dē kičā xô damē*: I shall give him my daughter
541 *dē ta kama sindôqēdā*: I shall put thee into the chest
545 *dē tô p min va* day: wilt thou strike me?
Am. 704 *ažī dē gal hinga* hēm: I too shall come with you
706 *tô dē vī ḫaywānī* firôšī: wilt thou sell this animal?
717 *dē tô či l ma* kay: whatever thou wilt do to us
Gul. 756 *am dē mālā xwa* bīn: we shall take our home . . .

§ 309. (*a*) The Demonstrative Izafe (frequently reduced to an enclitic vowel, indistinguishable from the Individual Izafe, *v.* § 266 (*b*))[1] appears with the Present Indicative tense (§ 283) giving the sense of a state or action in progress, i.e. of a Present Continuous tense, e.g.

Sur — *az wē tē* gam: I understand
— *xawīn wā tē*: we are sleepy (lit. 'our sleep is coming') (*xaw* F.)
Ak. — *maryamā* txôt, *azē* nāxôm: Miriam is eating, I am not
— *dastē minē* tēšīt: my hand is aching (*dast* M.)
— *xawā minā* tēt: I am sleepy
539 *ḫākimē mûsilē* yē *kāyazā* tnivīsīt: the governor of Mosul is (constantly) writing letters (*ḫākim* M.)
557 *amē čičikēt xô* nanāsīnava[2]: (now) we do not recognize our own cubs
633 *azā* tbīnim: I (female) can see
Am. 707 *čand rôža azē nānī* dama *hinga*: how many days is it that I have (continuously) given you bread?
718 *amēt* . . . tāxivīn: we are talking
Gul. — *azē nānī* txum: I am eating
Zx. — *xawā minē* tēt: I am sleepy
777 *šôlē xô* yē tkin: they are doing their work
777 *amē* tbīnīn: we can see
781 *ava* . . . wē *p min* ḳanitin: he is laughing at me
Shn. — *xawā mi* wā tēt: I am sleepy

[1] In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe,
Bar. 742 *ava kāfiraki* tētin: here is a monster coming (cf. (*c*) fn. below)
[2] See fn. 1, p. 181.

(*b*) The same construction occurs with the enclitic present tense form of the Substantive verb (§ 284 (*a*)) when the predicate is a simple nominal form,[1,2] e.g.

Ak. 533 *azē musāfir*-im: I am (temporarily) a traveller

contrast,

Ak. 561 *ayš dix*-im: I too am a thief
619 *az bisilmān*-im: I am a Moslem

With adjectives the same temporal sense may be given, e.g.

Ak. 548 *mār* yē *ḫaq*-a: the snake is in the right
568 *čand malyōn* t *kēm*-in: how many millions are short?
616 *dikān* yā *qapāt-kirī*-a[3]: the shop is shut
Am. 717 *am* t *ḫāzir*-īn: we are ready

The Demonstrative Izafe may, however, merely give the adjective 'substantive' force (*v.* § 266 (*a*) (ii)), e.g.

[1] The following examples have unexplained forms, possibly Secondary Izafe out of normal context:

Sur. 508 *amā rūsin ū a birsī*-yna: we are naked and hungry (*v.* § 275 (*a*), Note 4)
520 *ḫatā azī sāx*-im: as long as I am well (alive)
— *azī maſbūr*-im: I am obliged (to go now)
Shn. — *awī nivistī*-a: he is asleep
but — *aw yā nivistī*-a: she is asleep, regularly

[2] Cukerman, op. cit. (i), p. 139, using texts of varying provenance, describes a similar construction with the Secondary Izafe in place of the Demonstrative. He does not, however, differentiate between the temporal construction, the simple 'substantivized' adjective and the 'phrase introduced by a preposition' ((*c*) below), though all three types appear in his examples, e.g.

Temporal
*azī xarīb*-im: I am a stranger
*sōsika wastyāy*-a: (the mare) Sosik is tired
Substantivized
*wardaka* zafs āqil *bū*: Wardak was a very clever woman
*qasra* badaw *bū*: the palace was beautiful
Prepositional
*mirī na* l māl: the Mir is not at home

[3] When the adjective is a past participle (§ 288 (*b*)) this construction may contrast with a verbal one in which no substantive verb is expressed (*v.* § 313), e.g.

Ak. 587 *dit kō sa'īdē* ŧū-ništi-*a i sar taxtī*: he saw that Said was *seated* on a chair

contrast,

543 *dit ḫākimē ākrē* yē ŧū ništi *i sar taxtē xō*: he saw the governor of Akre (was) sitting on his throne

Ak. — *hakô mārī* yē xār-*a*: he is as crooked as a snake
548 *av ṯāē hanē* yē bāš-*a bô hinǰār*: this (here) branch is a good one for a plough-arm
589 *řidīnā wī* yā řaš-*a*: his beard is a black one
Am. 718 *āmēdīē* . . . yā ḫisār-kirī-*a*: Amadiye is walled round

(*c*) When the predicate of an affirmative sentence or clause is a phrase introduced by a preposition, or comprises an absolute preposition alone (§ 302), it is joined to its subject by the Demonstrative Izafe,[1] whether the sense be aoristic or continuous. The enclitic present form of the Substantive verb is then omitted, generally in the 3rd person Sg. and Pl. and optionally in the other persons, e.g.

Ak. — *minē gu* lē: I hear (lit. 'for me the ear (is) to it)
533 *mālā minā* l *filān ǰādē*: my house (is) in such-and-such street
538 *kāyazakā* l *wē darē*: (there is) a letter there
544 *mārak* yē t *nāv bafrēdā*: (there is) a snake in the snow
568 *sē mirôvēt* lē: (there are) three men in it
572 *awēt wē āxiftinēdā*: they (are) engaged in this talk
616 *ǰantak* yā l *barē dikānakē*: (there is) a bag (lying) in front of a shop
Am. 718 *galak bināyaťēt kavnēt* lē: (there are) many old buildings in it
718 *āmēdīē* yā l *sarē girakī*: Amadiye (is) on a hill
Gul. 768 *ḱuťiliḱ* . . . yā t *sēnīḱā wīdā*: (there is) a rissole in his tray
Zx. — *azē* l *vē ôdē*(-ma): I (am) in this room
— *amē*(t) l *vē ôdē*(-yna): we (are) in this room
777 *fiḷahēt* lē-na: there are Christians in it

When the sentence contains a main verb the Izafe in this construction may also be considered as joining a relative clause (without a verb) to its antecedent (cf. §§ 307 (*b*), 313 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 543 *aw ḫākimē* t *ṣindôqēdā ṣānī řawī*: that governor (who was) in the chest barked like a dog

[1] In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe (cf. fn. 1, p. 205).

Bar. 734 *ava šīrakī dastē dalālakīdā*: (here is) a sword in the hands of a broker.

The construction is not affected when the relative clause has a different subject to that of the main sentence, e.g.

Zx. — *bāžêrê kičikā minā* lê *galak dīra*: the town, in which my daughter (is), is very far away

In a phrase introduced by *waxtê*, &c., 'when' the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted (cf. § 313 (*b*)), e.g.

Ak. 616 waxtê *îrāq* t *dastê anglêzîdā*: when Iraq (was) in the hands of the British

§ 310. The Present Subjunctive is employed:

(*a*) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Ak. 556 *ḫllayakê bîka dā . . . xilās* bibîn: make some ruse that we may be saved
557 *dê šarî kayn ḫatā gurg* bibêžita *ma* . . .: we shall fight so that the wolf says to us . . .
561 *min nākana hîrlkê xô, gal hungô* bêm: won't you make me your companion, that I may come with you?

Am. 703A *îā bôn dā* čina *āšî*: they got up to go to the mill
708 *êārê xô kir dā* bêhnav *baydā*: they made their preparations in order to return to Baghdad

(*b*) with the conjunction *dā*, with injunctive force, e.g.

Ak. — dā bizānît *namāya*: he should know that there is none left
533 dā bičim, *ǰarikê xô dā nima māl*: let me go and put my water-pot down at home
544 dā namirîtin *tarmādā*: it ought not to (be left to) die of cold
626 dā bičîna *māl*: let us go home

(*c*) following *twyā*, &c., 'must, ought' and *bilā* 'let . . .' (*v.* § 295 (*b*), with examples).

(*d*) following certain verbs, e.g.

Ak. 684 *ax nalêm* bêm: I cannot come (*ǰyān*)
574 *min twêt . . . paydā* bîtava: I want it to be found (*vyān*)

600 *az ḫaz kam* bizānim: I would like to know (*ḫaz kirin*)

684 *malā nawĕrā dar* kavītin: the mullah durst not go out (*wĕrān*)

§ 311. (*a*) The Present and Past Imperfect tenses (§§ 283 (*a*), 287 (*a*)) are practically coextensive, the Present being the more common, in giving the sense of a repeated or habitual action or state in the past, e.g.

Ak. 543 *hakô māndī* tbô . . . dā *gurēl* kat: whenever he became tired he would roll it

550 *hamô sālē* dā *šīrī l min* xôn: every year they would drink milk from me

595 *žinā wī har ǰiwīn* tdānē, *aḥmad har* dā girīt: his wife kept abusing him (and) Ahmed wept all the time

Am. 707A *harô sipēda yā xû* dā fā bīt: he would get up every day at early dawn

Bar. 730 *aw* dā *bičūkēt xalkî* kužītin: he used to beat people's children

Zx. 774 *hindī* . . . *āvā* tkir . . . dā *ǰir ǰārak dī* kavītin: however much he used to build it up the bridge would always fall down again

(*b*) The Present Imperfect also gives the sense of an action, &c., about to take place, e.g.

Ak. 545 *naxô* dā mirī: otherwise thou wast about to die

547 *av māra t nāv bafrēdā bô*, dā mirīt *l sarmā*: this snake was in the snow, dying of cold

682 dā fā bītin, . . . *ǩôlā xirāb* . . . *bikatin*: he was going to get up and do something evil

Zx. 780 *azā* quſim . . . *aw ẍī* dā *mi* quſit: I was about to hit him, be too was going to hit me

(*c*) The Present Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (*v.* § 315) and in Suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Ak. — *xôzî min dītbā*, dā *ǩôlā xô lē va* kam: I wish I could see him, (were I to do so) I would take my revenge

**§ 312.** (*a*) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense, describing a state or action in the past, e.g.

Ak. 547 *amin . . . hal* girt, *dā* nā *ʃandikēdā . . . davē ʃandikē min* dirû *ô ʃandîk min* hāvēta *pištā xô*: I picked it up, put it in the bag, sewed the mouth of the bag and put it over my shoulder

Am. 704 *bālūl* čô, *kēlik* girfîn, kirina *t ʂindôqādā*: Bahlul went, caught some cats and put them into the chests

(*b*) The Past tense is also employed for recently perfected actions, e.g.

Ak. 536 *la'bēt xô min hamô bîr* kirinava: I have (just) forgotten all my tricks again

559 *am . . . pêk* hātîn: we have come together

A long completed action, &c., is expressed by the Perfect or Pluperfect tense, e.g.

Ak. 567 *ta* zānîa *či* qawmîa: hast thou learnt what has happened?

582 *wa dyāra awo l min 'adālattîr* bîa: evidently he was more just than I

595 *atô* bîa *mêvānē aḥmadî*: wast thou Ahmed's guest?

579 *awî či* kirbô, . . . *awî zangilak . . . dirist* kirbô, *xinfîrak vē* čxistbô: what did he do (lit. 'had he done')? He made a bell and fixed a chain to it

**§ 313** (*a*) The Perfect Indicative I (§ 289 (*a*)) is employed only in the negative and interrogative and in some subordinate clauses. In affirmative statements (including relative clauses) the Demonstrative Izafe, or a reduced form of it (*v.* § 266 (*b*)), generally appears with the Perfect II form (§ 289 (*c*)), e.g.

Sur. 512 *hindak nān ū kasbîm* ē . . . hînāy: I have brought some bread and comestibles

512 *--im gôšt* . . . wē hînāy: I have brought meat

520 *hind zēŗî* wē fîtîna: it has voided so much gold

Ak. — *av mēza kē čē* kirîa? *min čē* nakirîa, *nafārî* yā *čē* kirî: who has made this table? Not I, the carpenter has made it (*mēz* F.)

535 *kāyazak dît kô* yā niviſî . . .: they saw a letter (in) which was written . . . (*kāyaz* F.)

543 *dit ḫākimē ākrē* yĕ rû ništī *l sar taxtĕ xó*: he saw the governor of Akre was sitting on his throne

550 *azā pir* bīm: I (a cow) have grown old (*čĕl* F.)

550 *galak čĕl ó gā* yĕ *l min zēda* bīn: many cows and oxen have sprung from me

550 *min galak xēr* yā *l vĕ čĕlē* dītī: I have seen much good from this cow (*xēr* F.)

553 *min tó* yĕ *l pištā xó* kirī: I have put thee (a snake) on my back (*mār* M.)

557 *ma čĕčik vĕkrā* yĕt kirīn: we have whelped together

Am. 710A *minĕ* dāyn*av hinga ḷólik*: I have given you dung fuel-cakes

717 *wājīb ma* yā *ḫal* kirī, *balĕ hamī ma* na *ḫal* kirīa: we have done (lit. 'solved') our homework, but we have not done all of it (*wājīb* F.)

Bar. 732 *azĕ daynd*ār bīm: I have become indebted

Gul. — *min* šīvā lēnāy: I have prepared supper (*šīv* F.)

Zx. 773 *pi*raka . . . wĕ hātī *āvā kirīn*: (there) is a bridge (which) has bren built . . . (*pir* F.)

776 *aw dārā banōkē* . . . wĕ māy: that terebinth trre still remains (lit. 'has remained') (*dār* F.)

777 *jó* . . . yĕ . . . *ḫaq* kirī: the canal has bren split off (from the river) (*jó* F.)

(*b*) The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted from this construction in a relative clause introduced by either an Individual or a Demonstrative Izafe form (cf. §§ 307 (*b*), 309 (*c*)), even when this 'relative' Izafe has no connexion with the verb, e.g.

Ak. 575 . . . *dasrók* . . . yā *filān kasī* īnāy: the kerchief which so-and-so brought

593 *aw masalā kó ax bó* hātīm: that question about which I have come

[contrast,

Ak. 588 *axĕ* hātīm *bó masalak*: I have come about a question]

Am. 710 *tištĕ min* dāy*av hinga . . . bidanav min*: give me back the thing which I have given to you

Zx. 774 *aw hustāē kó av pirā hanē āvā* kirī: the mason who has built this (here) bridge

Likewise in clauses introduced by *waxtē*, &c., 'when' and similar temporal adverbs the Perfect II form appears without the Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 309 (*c*)), e.g.

Am. 703A waxtē čôyna *āšī*: when they went to the mill
Bar. 731 waxtē *sē čārak* kušti: when he had beaten three or four
Gul. — waxtē *az* čôym *sûkē*: when I went to the market
Zx. 776 pištī kô *pir āvā* kirī: after the bridge was built

Occasionally the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted in other contexts,[1] e.g.

Ak. 580 *sarē xô* (yē) hāvētīa *kalābā xinjīrē*: it has put its head in the book of the chain
583 *'amrē wī* gaštīa *140 sālī*: his age has reached some 140 years

## Conditions

§ 314. Present and future, possible conditions.

(*a*) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive, or where appropriate the Future tense, appears, e.g.

Subjunctive

Ak. — *agar xudē* nadat, *nādat*: if God does not give (a thing) He does not (and there is an end)
546 *dušmin* bigata *dušminī*: if one enemy meet the other
562 *akar ṣa* biřawīt: if a dog should bark
562 *akar ma* bigirin: if they should catch us
Am. 712 *az bisilmān* bim: if I am a Moslem
Gul. — *hakar xalīl* bēt: if Khalil should come
Zx. — *hakar min pāra* habin: if I were to have (any) money

Future

Ak. 569 *akar* dē *ma ṣalbīš* kay: even if thou wilt hang us
573 dē *tôba* kan: if you will repent

[1] The Ak. form *gōtī* 'he said', in contrast to *gōt-ē* 'he said to him', might be explained as such a Perfect II, without the Demonstrative Izafe, from *gōt-*. The Past Imperfect in Ak. 609 *min tgōtī* 'I used to say', however, suggests a secondary past stem **gōtī-*. The same example, having a 1st Sg. agent (Ak. 618 *min gōtī* 'I said' also), rules out any immediate connexion with the Sor. construction *gōt-ī* 'he said' (cf. § 225 (iv) (γ)).

(*b*) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Ak. — *agar filkēt bāš min* dītin *dē bô ta kiřim*: if I see any good clothes I shall buy them for thee

553 *akar dužmin* gašta *dužminī lēk řā nābirin*: if one enemy meet the other they do not pass one another by

Gul. — *haǩar xalīl* hāť *bēža wī*: if Khalil comes tell him

§ 315. Past, impossible conditions.

The Perfect Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Present or Past Imperfect in the apodosis, e.g.

Ak. — *agar az zûtir* čôbāmā . . . dā bīnim: if I had gone earlier I would have seen (him)

— *hakar min tiving vē* bā[1] . . . dā kužim: if I had had a gun with me I would have killed it

— *hakar ta* nakuštbā *ta fīlār* natkir: hadst thou not killed him thou wouldst not have fled

Am. — *haǩa tô dirangťir* hāťbāyā . . . dā *p miřā* gahī: if thou hadst come later thou wouldst have met me

Zx. — *haǩar am* nahāťbān *awī am* natdīťīn: if we had not come he would not have seen us

§ 316. The particle Ak., Am. *xôzī*, Gul. *xwazī*, Zx. *xuzī* 'would that . . .' is always followed by the Perfect Conditional tense, regardless of the possibility or otherwise of the realization of the wish, e.g.

Ak. — *xôzī aw ṣubay* hātbā: would he were coming tomorrow

— *xôzī nôka* hātbā: would that he would come now

— *xôzī min tô* dītbāy*ava*: would that I could see thee again

— *xôzī min tô* dītbāyā: would that I had seen thee

Am. — *xôzī am* hāťbāynā: would that we had come

Gul. — *xwazī tô* čôbāē: would that thou wouldst go

Zx. — *xuzī hûn* čôbān: would that you had gone

[1] See fn. 1, p. 189.

## C. WORD FORMATION

*(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Ak. only)*

### Compounds

§ 317. Two types of Copulative compound occur.

(*a*) Compounds of two nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction *ó*, &c., 'and' are not common, but do occur, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *kār-ó-bār* | 'affairs' (work and ? load) |
| *sar-ó-čāv* | 'face' (head and eyes) |
| *ʃayr-ó-ʃawāl* | 'birds' (birds and ?) |
| *ēk-u-dó* | 'one another' (one and two) |

(*b*) Morphemes indicating the making of some noise occur reduplicated with the compound vowel *-a-* (cf. § 252 (*c*)), e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *bilq-a-bilq* | 'bubbling' |
| *huł-a-huł* | 'rustling' |
| *kus-a-kus* | 'whispering' |
| *xiř-a-xiř* | 'snoring' |

Nouns or morphemes occur reduplicated and with the 'diminutive' suffix *-ók* (§ 320), e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *vīřvīřók* | 'whirligig' (*vīř* 'whirr') |
| *xālxālók* | 'lady-bird' (*xāl* 'spot') |
| *xāxxāzók* | 'mumper, cadger' (*xāz-* 'beg') |

§ 318. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive. However formed, such compounds frequently take a 'diminutive' suffix *-ik*, *-ók*, &c. (§ 320).

(*a*) Dependent compounds are of two types:

(i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relation to it, mainly genitive. Such compounds may appear with the qualifier preceding the qualified, but more commonly are inverted, and with the compound vowel *-a-*, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *gil-kan* | 'clay-pit' |
| *ma-čētir* | 'ghost' (us-better, cf. NP *az-mā-behtarān*) |
| *řōž-āvā* | 'sun-set' (*āvā bún* 'set') |

Inverted,

| | |
|---|---|
| *birā-zāvā* | 'best man' (brother of bridegroom) |
| *gul-buhār* | 'marigold' (flower of spring) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *kuř-xāl* | 'cousin' (son of maternal uncle) |
| *kûra-gĕč* | 'lime-burning-pit' (pit for lime) |
| *žin-bāb* | 'stepmother' (wife of father) |

and, with the compound vowel,

| | |
|---|---|
| *āv-a-māst* | 'curds and water mixed' (water of curds) |
| *bar-a-āš* | 'millstone' (stone of mill) |
| *ƒālk-a-pûnk* | 'mint sweetmeat' (lump of mint) |
| *žān-a-sar* | 'headache' (ache of head) |

(ii) A verbal stem, or past participle, restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

Stem:

| | |
|---|---|
| *didān-kēš* | 'dentist' (tooth-puller) |
| *das-gir* | 'fiancé(e)' (hand-holder) |
| *mĕr-kuž* | 'murderer' (man-killer) |
| *māšī-gir(ik)* | 'kingfisher' (fish-catcher) |
| *sar-šō* | 'bath-attendant' (head-washer) |
| [cf. *sar-šók* | 'bath-house'] |

Participle:

| | |
|---|---|
| *das-bardāy* | 'spendthrift' (hand-opened) |
| *kār-kirī* | 'adorned' (adornment-made) |
| *ţil-dāy* | 'bulging' (bulge-given) |
| *xûn-girtī* | 'bloody' (blood-seized) |

(*b*) Descriptive compounds consist chiefly of a noun qualified by an adjective or, rarely, a noun in apposition. The latter follows the noun qualified in

*bā-kuróva* 'sleet' (wind—fine snow)

A qualifying adjective may precede the noun it qualifies, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *mē-kaw* | 'she-partridge' |
| *ƒaš-māl* | 'black tent' |
| *xiř-bāb* | 'stepfather' (barren-father) |

or follow it. e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *daḥla-ƒaš-ik* | 'blackberry bush' (thorn—black) |
| *kunamĕrû-sûār* | 'long-legged ant' (ant—mounted) |
| *māšī-xiř-ik* | 'tadpole' (fish—spherical) |
| *paz-kûvī* | 'moufflon' (sheep—mountain, wild) |
| *tû-mirī* | 'inedible mulberry' (mulberry—dead) |

and, with a compound vowel,

Am. *kirm-a-ʂór-ik* 'caterpillar' (worm—red)
*kĕx-a-ʃaĭ* 'cockchafer' (beetle—black)

There is a small group of descriptive compounds formed with the negative prefix *na-*, e.g.

*na-hiĭ* 'un-conscious'
*na-xôĭ* 'un-well'

§ 319. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(*a*) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with possessive meaning, e.g.

*du-rû* 'two-faced'
*girān-bā* 'one who sells dearly'
*xîla-qûn-k* 'dragonfly' (straw-tail)

and, inverted,

*bĕn-ʂang* 'impatient, depressed' (breath—tight)
*čirik-dirĕž* 'boring, garrulous' (story—long)
*dû-maqas-ik* 'earwig; swallow' (tail—scissors)
Zx. *hasĭî-sivĭk* 'handsome' (bone—light)
*xûn-šīrîn* 'handsome' (blood—sweet)
*nāvčāv-šīn* 'glum' (forehead—blue)
*sar-rût* 'bald' (head—bare)
Am. *sar-ʃaĭĭ* 'dragonfly' (head—spindle)
*pirč-xar* 'blond(e)' (hair—yellow)

(*b*) The preposition *p* forms an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *p-čak* | 'armed' | *p-ʂānāĭ* | 'easy' |
| *p-hīvī* | 'hopeful' | *p-lyārī* | 'attentive(ly)' |
| *p-hawas* | 'happy' | *p-tīlī* | 'pregnant' |
| *p-lax* | 'in a hurry' | *p-xabar* | 'faithful' |

Other examples of prepositional compounds are:

*bē-xwē* 'tasteless' (without salt)
*bar-dast* 'available' (before hand)
*bar-pirs* 'responsible' (before questioning)
*pēš-čāv* 'famous' (before eye)
Am. *t-xaw* 'asleep' (in sleep)

**Suffixes**

**§ 320.** The following suffixes form nouns:

(*a*) Abstract

*-ī*, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

*'ēfixī* 'anger', *girānī* 'famine', *kôraī* 'blindness', *lāyiqī* 'suitability', *sivikī* 'ease', *ṣārī* 'coldness', *šyārī* 'attention', *tûřaī* 'peevishness', *xûndārī* 'feud'.

*-āī*, *-ātī*, *-yātī*, likewise form abstract nouns of measure or quality, e.g.

*dirēžāī* 'length', *pānāī*, *pānātī* 'breadth';
*dužmināti* 'enmity', *kičikātī* 'smallness', *kavnātī* 'age', *māzinātī* 'bigness', Bar. *māzināťī* 'rulership';
*sôryātī* 'redness', *sivikyātī* 'flippancy'.

*-īnī*, *-ānī*, form abstract nouns of state, e.g.

*dôstīnī*, *dôstānī* 'friendship', *havālīnī* 'comradeship';
*lāvānī* 'youthfulness'.

(*b*) Diminutive

The following suffixes form derived nouns of various meanings, some of which may be classed as 'diminutive'. Often the meaning of the simplex is completely unaltered and the suffix is optional.

*-(i)k*, Am., &c., generally *-(i)ḱ*,

Am. *āxûrik̆* 'sandfly', *bālīfik* (*-ik̆*) 'pillow', *barik* 'pebble, fruit stone', *bērik* 'shovel', *bařik* (*-ik̆*) 'rug', Am. *barxik̆* 'lambkin', *dôrik* (*-ik̆*) 'round loaf', *guhārik* (*-ik̆*) 'ear-ring', *hirmī*, Am. *hirmīk̆* 'pear', *ǰôlān*, Am. *ǰôlānk̆* 'hammock', *liḫēfik* (*-ik̆*) 'quilt'.

*-ôk*, Am., &c., *-ôḱ*,

*binafšôk* 'violet', Am. *banôḱ* 'terebinth tree', *banīštôk* 'chewing gum', *bāzinôk* 'armlet', *bizmārôk* 'corn, callus', *dudavôk* 'pickaxe', *kangir(ôk)* 'edible thistle', Zx. *liyāvôḱ* 'bridle', *qalaflôk* 'nose-stud' (*qalafil* 'clove'), *ṭayrôk* 'butterfly', *zimānôk* 'uvula'.

*-lik*, *-lka*, (rare)

*sipīlik* 'egg-white'; *pēšûlka* 'mosquito', **pišīlik* or **pišīlka* 'kitten' in *pišīlkā mīrā* 'thistledown'.

*-ôlik*, (rare)

*baqmârôlik* 'type of lizard', *dâpirôlik* 'spider'.

(*c*) Concrete

*-(a)vân*, *-îî*, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

*âlavân* 'miller', *barxavân* 'lambherd', *kâravân* 'kidherd', *ʕazavân* 'gardener'; *nêčîrvân* 'huntsman', Am. *ʕanûrvân* 'baker';

*čâîî* 'teashop-keeper', *laymaîî* 'sapper'.

*-kar*, *-kâr*, form nouns and adjectives meaning 'doer, maker of . . .', e.g. *laʔkar* 'aggressive, fighter';

*hârîkâr* 'helper, assistant'.

*-ân*, *-âna*, *-ânê*, form names of games, e.g.

*hôlân* 'polo'; *čamkâna* 'hockey';

*dâmânê* 'draughts', *gôlânê* 'football', *katikânê* 'five-stones', *lukmânê* 'boxing', *muhr-ô-xatânê* 'heads or tails', *mâtânê* 'marbles', *xarîrinʃân(ê)* 'chess', *xô-lêk-dânânê* 'wrestling'.

§ 321. The following suffixes form adjectives:

*-î*, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.

*binî* 'underneath', *gundî* 'village, rural', *pîvâzî* 'pink, onion-coloured', *qahwaî*, Shn. *qahwây* 'brown, coffee-coloured', *qirêâî* 'dirty, filthy'.

*-ôk*, Zx. *-ô*, rare, forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

*tirsôk* 'cowardly';

Zx. *gilîzô* 'dribbling, slobbery', *kilmîlô* 'snotty'.

*-dâr*, forms adjectives meaning 'possessed of . . .', e.g.

*birîndâr* 'wounded', *dayndâr* 'indebted', *kôvândâr* 'injured', *xûndâr* 'at feud'.

§ 322. (*a*) The 'regular' Intransitive verb is characterized by the past stem Ak., &c., *-yâ-*, Gul., Zx. *-hâ-*, infinitive *-yân*, *-hân*, present stem *-(y)ê-*, *-hê-* respectively, e.g.

Ak. *biryân*, *biryê-*, Zx. *birhân*, *birhê-* 'cease'

Ak. *gařyân*, *gař(y)ê-*, Gul. *gařhân*, *gařhê-* 'wander'

Ak. *řižyân*, *řižyê-*, Zx. *řižhân*, *řižhê-* 'pour'

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation from the same stem (*v.* § 298).

(*b*) The same morphemes, Intransitive *-yā-*, *-yē-* (Gul., Zx. *-hā-*, *-hē-*), Transitive *-ānd-*, *-īn-*, also form verbs from 'loan-morphemes' of Arabic origin, e.g.

Ak. *'alamāndin*, *'alamīn-* 'teach' (Ar. *'alima*)
*ḥabāndin*, *ḥabīn-* 'love' (Ar. *ḥabba*)
*ḥalyān*, Zx. *ḥalhān* 'melt' (Ar. *ḥalla*), *ḥalāndin* 'melt'
*qatyān*, Gul. *qaṭhān* 'finish, come to an end' (Ar. *qaṭa'a*),
*qatāndin* 'finish, bring to an end'

In Zx. the morpheme *-āndin* may also form infinitive verbal nouns from Transitive present stems although the past stem is not in *-ānd-*, e.g.

Zx. *daynā-*, *dayn-* 'put down' : *daynāndin* F. 'putting down'
*nivīsī-*, *nivīs-* 'write' : *nivīsāndin* F. 'writing'

# PART IV

# DIALECT GROUPING

**§ 323.** Of the historical sound-changes which distinguish dialects *within* the Kurdish family two may be considered of major significance. As will be seen, both are reflected in the morphology of the dialects.

(*a*) OIr. inter- and postvocalic *m*, *p* yield *v* in all the dialects described in Part III except Sur. (viz. Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn., Bot., Rwn.), *w* in all the dialects of Part II and Sur. (viz. Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur.), e.g.

| | | Ak., &c. | | Sul., &c. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Av. | *gāman-* | > *gāv* | : | *han]gāw* | 'pace' |
| | *hāmina-* | > *hāvīn* | : | *hāwīn* | 'summer' |
| | *nāman-* | > *nāv* | : | *nāw* | 'name' |
| Av. | *āp-* | > *āv* | : | *āw* | 'water' |
| | *xšap-* | > *šav* | : | *šaw* | 'night' |
| | **fšu.pāna-* | > *šivān* | : | *šwān* | 'shepherd' |

This development of *m* affects the proximate demonstrative adjective. In Ak., &c., the forms *av*, &c. (§ 277) < OIr. *ima-* are distinct from the remote demonstrative *aw*, &c. < OIr. *awa-*. In Sur., Muk., and the Sor. dialects the two demonstratives fall regularly together in the forms *aw*, &c. Only in Sul., War. is the *m* irregularly preserved, and with it the distinction between proximate and remote demonstratives *am*:*aw* (§ 192) (cf. Barr, op. cit., p. 183, Anm.).

The development of *p* is reflected in the common preverb Ak., &c., *va*, *-(a)va* (§ 300 (*a*)), Sul., &c., *-(a)wa* (§ 235), cf. NP *bāz*, *vā* (Mann, Muk. § 59) < **apāčā* or **apāk-* respectively (Henning, ZII. 9. 231).

(*b*) The regular outcome of OIr. suffix *-aka* in Kd., reflected even in loanwords of the NIr. period, appears to be War. *-ig* (*Sinaī*, &c., *-ig*), Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. *-uw*, *-ū*, Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur., Ak., &c., *-ī*, e.g.

| | War., &c. | | Sul., &c. | | Ark., Ak., &c. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sinai* | *dazig* | : | *dazū* | : | *dazī* | 'thread' |
| | *haři̯g* | : | | : | *haři̯* | 'mud' |
| | *māzig* | : | *māzū* | : | *māzī* | 'gall-apple' |
| | *fōžig* | : | *fōžū* | : | *fōžī* | 'fasting' |
| | *tīnig* | : | *tīnū* | : | *tēnī* | 'thirsty' |
| War. | *xānǐ̯g* | : | *xānū* | : | *xānī* | 'house' |
| | *zīnǐ̯g* | : | *zīŋū* | : | *zindī* | 'alive' |

This development is most regularly seen, however, in the past participle of all verbs (§§ 213, 288) < OIr. **-ta-ka-*, e.g. Wār. *hātǐ̯g*:Sul. *hātuw*:Arb., Ak. *hātī* 'having come'.

§ 324. Other sound-changes are best epitomized by a comparison of the phonemic systems of the various dialects. Of those studied:

(i) War. is alone in possessing the allophone *ǧ*, i.e. continuant realization of *g* (§ 64 ff.). War. is also the only dialect to show the regular reduction of intervocalic *b* to *w* (§ 62), of *-iwi-* to *-ū-* (§ 75), and of *št* to *s* (§ 74 (*b*)).

(ii) War. and Sul. are marked off from all other dialects by the phoneme *ŋ* (§ 24), the diphthongs of class (iii) (§§ 50, 53), and by the reduction of *nd* to *n* or *ŋ* (§§ 57 (*a*), 74 (*a*)) with its bearing on the causative conjugation, *-āndin* > *-ānin* (§ 233).

(iii) War., Sul., Bin., Pǐ̄ž., ? Muk. alone have *ə* (§§ 47, 72), and *l* (§ 14).

(iv) Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur. regularly replace *l* by *r* (§ 98). Other dialects have *l* for Sul., &c., *l*, *l*. The same dialects, Arb., &c., regularly have *ć*, *j́* for common *č*, *ǰ* (§ 82).

(v) Sur., although it has the same phonemic system as Arb., is marked by a number of phonetic divergences (§ 102 ff.).

(vi) The dialects of Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., &c., are differentiated from those of Sul., &c., by the 'empbatic' phonemes *ṣ*, *ʃ*, *ʒ̣*.

(vii) The dialects of Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Rwn. present two groups of consonant phonemes, aspirate and unaspirate *ḱ*, *ĺ*, *ṕ*: *k*, *t*, *p*. (§ 157), in opposition to Sul.–Ak. (and possibly Shn., BX, &c.) which have only one, aspirate, series *k*, *t*, *p*.

(viii) Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., with Hak. and Bot., form a

unique group with the modified realization of *ó*, *ú* as [u:, y:] (§§ 147, 160 (*a*)).

A further, but less definite, distinguishing feature between certain dialects, here represented by Sul. and Ak. respectively, is the incidence of consonant groups. The difference between Sul., with some eighty possible initial groups, and Ak., with little more than a dozen, is most striking. On the other hand, the 'algebraic' realization of secondary consonant groups in Ak., Am., &c. (§§ 154, 159), is not found in Sul., &c.

**§ 325.** The main line of distinction between what may conveniently be called N(orthern) and C(entral) dialects can be seen to run between the dialects of Ak., Shn., &c., on the one hand and Arb., Rdz., Muk., &c., on the other, with Sur. necessarily taking an intermediate position. On either side of this line there appear, apart from the phonetic items mentioned above (§§ 323 (*a*), 324 (vi)), a number of contrasting morphological features.

(i) A major distinction lies in the system of personal pronouns—with suffix forms in the case of the C. dialects, including Sur. (§ 196), without suffix forms in the N. dialects (§ 275).

(ii) The suffix pronouns have a variety of functions (§ 197 (*b*)) of which the most characteristic is that of Agent in the Agential construction of the same C. dialects (§ 223). This construction, with its obligatory Agent, contrasts with the simpler Passive construction of the N. dialects (§ 296). The contrast is heightened by the faculty of the C. dialect verb for taking two verbal endings (§ 230). In Bin., Piž. alone of the C. dialects is there any reflection of the N. construction (§ 225, *Note*).

(iii) Apart from the Passive construction of the past tenses of all transitive verbs the N. dialects have no Passive conjugation. A present Passive can only be expressed by a periphrasis (§ 297). In contrast, all the C. dialects have a fully developed secondary Passive conjugation (§ 231).

(iv) While an indefinite nominal suffix appears in all Kd. dialects in the form *-ék* or *-ak* (§§ 176, 259) a corresponding definite suffix *-aka* is found only in the C. dialects, including Sur., and to a lesser extent in Ak. (§§ 174, 258 (*b*)). Cognate with this there appears a general demonstrative suffix *-a* in all C. dialects (§ 175), which is restricted to proximate demonstrative use in the N.

dialects Sur., Ak.–Zx. Both *-aka* and *-a* commonly appear in conjunction with the open compound construction (§ 185), which is not found in the N. dialects.

§ 326. In the main the systems of nominal inflexion for number, gender, and case, and including the Izafe, are contrasted on either side of the same line. A number of Northern features do, however, appear in modified form below the line. Thus:

(i) All N. dialects have a distinction of grammatical gender in the Singular, manifest in the case endings (§ 261) and the Izafe (§ 264). This distinction is preserved in the C. dialects of Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., but only in the case endings (§ 180). With the gender distinction preserved in the Bin., Piž. (Muk.), Izafe (§ 183), and 3rd singular personal pronoun oblique (§ 196), as well as in the nominal case endings, these dialects go together with the N. dialects more closely.

(ii) Corresponding to the Singular Oblique case endings the N. dialects have an exclusively Oblique Plural ending *-ā(n)* (§ 261 (*a*)). This same ending forms a general plural in all C. dialects (§ 177), whether the dialect has a case system or not.

(iii) The specifically Plural Izafe forms *-ĕt*, &c., of the N. dialects (§ 264) are found also in Bin., Piž., Muk. *-ī da* (§ 183 (*c*)).

§ 327. The verbal systems of the various dialects offer the following contrasts:

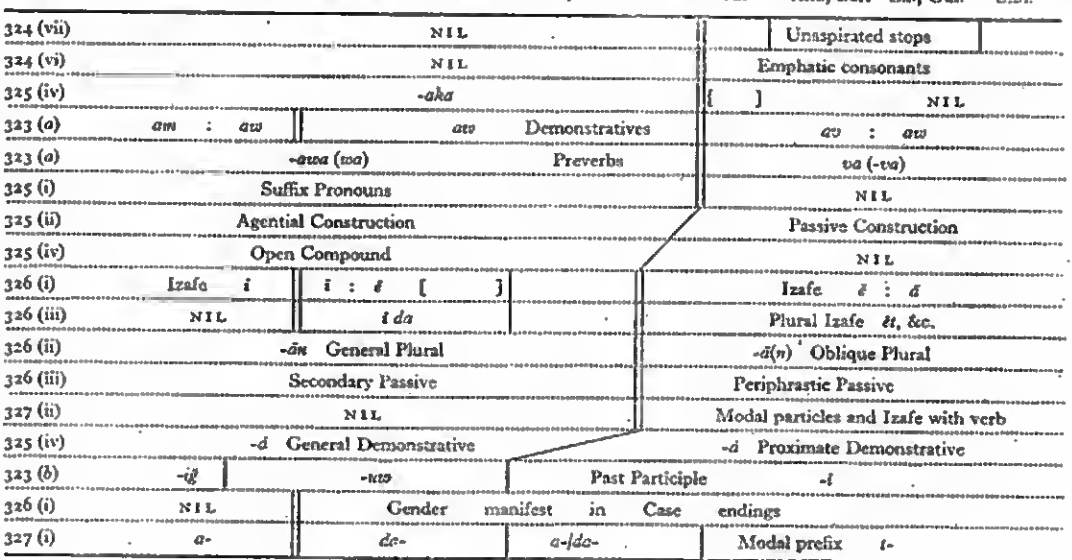
(i) While all dialects from Bin., Piž. northwards have a modal prefix *da-* (§ 206 (*a*)), or *t-* < *di-* (§ 281 (*a*)), Sul. and War. have *a-*. This must be taken as a separate entity (with Barr, op. cit., p. 221, Anm.), and not as a form of *da-*, since initial *d* is not lost completely in any dialect (cf. § 8). Moreover, the two prefixes appear together in Rdz., Sur. where *d* is quite stable, but *a-* may here be a later borrowing.

(ii) The formation of a Future tense with an independent modal particle *dĕ*, &c., is restricted to the N. dialects, including Sur., Rwn., Bot. (§ 281 (*b*)). The temporal and other use of various forms of Izafe with the verb (§§ 309, 313) is likewise a feature of the N. dialects from Sur. to Rwn., with no counterpart in the C. dialects.

**§ 328.** From the following diagram it will be seen that there are two major lines of division between the dialects treated here:

(*a*) that between Arb. (Sur.) and Ak., dividing North from Centre, and

(*b*) that between Sul. and Bin., &c., dividing the more archaic Central dialects (Sor. and Muk.) from those of Sul. and War., with their leaning towards the Southern group.


§§
War.
Sul.
Bin., Piž.
Muk.
Arb., Rdz.
Sur.
Ak.
Am., Bar.
Zx., Gul.
Shn.
324 (vii)
NIL
Unaspirated stops
324 (vi)
NIL
Emphatic consonants
325 (iv)
-aka
[ ]
NIL
323 (a)
am : aw
aw
Demonstratives
aw : aw
323 (a)
-awa (wa)
Preverbs
wa (-wa)
325 (i)
Suffix Pronouns
NIL
325 (ii)
Agential Construction
Passive Construction
325 (iv)
Open Compound
NIL
326 (i)
Izafe i
i : é [ ]
Izafe é : á
326 (iii)
NIL
i da
Plural Izafe ét, &c.
326 (ii)
-ān General Plural
-ā(n) Oblique Plural
326 (iii)
Secondary Passive
Periphrastic Passive
327 (ii)
NIL
Modal particles and Izafe with verb
325 (iv)
-d General Demonstrative
-á Proximate Demonstrative
323 (b)
-ig
-wa
Past Participle
-i
326 (i)
NIL
Gender manifest in Case endings
327 (i)
a-
da-
a-ʃda-
Modal prefix t-

# APPENDIX

## LIST OF VERBS[1]

### I. Dialects of Group I

All forms are Sul. unless otherwise stated. Where only infinitive, or present stem, is quoted for another dialect this alone differs from Sul. 'Sor.' does not necessarily indicate that the form is common to all Sor. dialects.

*ālān, ālē-*; Arb. *ārān, ārē-*; *tēk ~*, vi. become entangled, embroiled.
*ālūzān* (*ālūshān*), *ālūzē-*, vi. tangle. [Arb. *ārōz būn.*]
*aŋūtin, aŋū-*; Piž., Muk. *angūtin*, vi. impinge.
*aŋāwtin, aŋēw-*; Piž., Muk. *angāwtin*, vt. hit *a mark*.
*(an)jinīn, (an)jin-*; Muk. *anjinin*; War. *jinīn*, vt. mince.
*aspārdin*, see *sipārdin*.
*astāndin*, see *stānin*.
*astirīn*, see *sirīn*.
*ēlān, ēlē-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. ache, hurt.
*āwsān, āwsē-*, = Muk., vi. swell.
*āwasīn*, see *wāsin*.
*āwi(ī)tin*, see *hāwāltin*.
War. *āwzyān*, ?, vt. grow up.
*āxinīn, āxin-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. stuff, fill.
*āxūtin*, see *xūtin*.
*aźmārdin*, see *źimārdin*.
*āźinīn, āźin-*, vt. prick, pierce.
Muk. *āźwān, āźō-*; Arb. *hāźō(ī)tin*, vt. drive *flocks*.

*bičirīn*, = *pičirīn*.
*bōlānin, bōlēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. murmur, mumble.
*•būn, b-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. be.
*binīn*, see *dīn*.
*•birdin, ba(r)-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wa-*, vt. take, carry.
*būrdin, būr-*, vi. pass.
*bārīn, bār-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wārīn, wār-*, vi. rain.
*birāān, birāē-*, = Muk.; Piž. *birāīn*, vi. be roasted.

[1] In alphabetical order of *consonants*, as in § 169. Vowels (and *short* diphthongs, in the order: *a, ā, ē, ay, i, ī, ō, e, aw, u, ū*) are only considered in initial position, or in the event of two words having the same consonant structure.

• See § 205 (*a*), end.

*biřān, biřē-*, vi. cease.
*biřīn, biř-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *wiř-*, vt. cut.
*bāřānin, bāřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. bleat.
*bōřānin, bōřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. low, moo.
•*bastin, bast-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *was-*; Sur. *bēn-*, vt. tie.
•*bīstin, bīs(t)-*; Muk. *byē-*, vt. hear. [Arb. *gē lē būn.*]
*bwārdin, bwēr- (bor-)*, = Sor., Muk., vt. pass.
*baxšīn, baxš-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. forgive.
*bazīn, baz-*, = Muk., vi. run.
*bizūtin (bizwān), bizū-*, = Muk.; Arb. *biziftin (bizwīn), bizū-*, vi. move, stir.
*bēžīn, bēž-, ~awa*; Arb. *bēštin (bēžīn)*, vt. sift.
*būžān, būžē-, ~awa*, vi. recover, convalesce.
*bižārdin, bižēr-*, = Muk., vt. pick, select.
[Piž. *bižārtin*, roast, see list II, s.v.]

*čilakīn, čilak-*; *dā ~*, vi. start, shy.
*čamān, čamē-*, = Muk.; Rdz. *čōmān, čōm-*, vi. bend.
•*čūn, č-*, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *čān, č-*, vi. go.
*čānin, čēn-*; Sor., Muk. *čāndin*, vt. sow.
*činin, čin-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.
*čaqīn, čaqē-*, vi. stick, be inserted.
*čirīkānin, čirīkēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. shriek.
*čirpānin, čirpēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. whisper
*čōřān, čōřē-*, = Muk., vi. drip.
*časpān, časpē-*, = Sor., vi. stick, adhere.
*čēštin (čēžīn), čēž-*, = Muk., vt. taste.

*damānin, damēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. blow.
•*dān, da-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. give.
•*dīn (bīnīn), bīn-*; Sor., Muk. *dītin*; War. *wīn-*, vt. see.
*dirkānin, dirkēn-*, vt. utter, blurt out.
*dirūn, dirū-*, = Muk.; War. *dūrīn, dūr-*, vt. sew [*sic*]; *~awa*, reap.
*diřān, diřē-*, = Muk.; War. *diřyān*, vi. tear, be torn.
*diřīn, diř-*, = Muk., vt. tear.
*dōřānin, dōřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. lose *a game, stake.*
*dōšīn, dōš-*, = Sor., vt. milk.
•Muk. *dāštin, dēr-*, vt. irrigate.
*dītin*, see *dīn*.
*dwān, dwē-*, = Muk., vi. speak.
*dizīn, diz-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. steal.
*dōzīn, dōz-*; War. ? *waz-*; *~awa*, vt. discover.

*fīkānin, fīkēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. whistle.
*farmūn, farmū-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. order, deign.

**firō(ſ)tin, firōſ-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. sell.
*fiřin, fiř-*, = Muk., vi. fly.
*fiřān(d'in, = řiſān(d'in.*
*fiřānin, fiřēn-*, vt. pass liquid stool.
*fawtān, fawtē-*, = Sor., vi. perish.

*gilān, gilē-*, = Muk.; War. *gilyān*, vi. tumble.
*gilōftin, gilōf-*, vt. rub, squeeze.
*gān, gē-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *gāin*, vt. copulate *with*.
*gunſān, gunſē-*, vi. be possible, occur.
*ganin, gan-*, vi. rot.
*girān, girē-*, = Muk., vi. be caught, held.
*gurūn, gurū-*, = Muk., vt. flay *in one piece*.
*gārānin, gārēn-*, vt. cluck.
*girsān, girsē-*; Sor. *girsān*; War. *girsyān; dā* ~, vi. light, be kindled.
*girsān, girsē-*; War. *girsyān*; = *girān*.
*girtin, gir-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. take, hold.
**giryān, girī-*; Sor. *giryē-*; Muk. *? girya-*, vi. weep.
*gařān, gařē-*, = Muk.; War. *gařyān*, vi. wander.
*gērān, gēr-*, = Muk., vt. turn; *~awa*, relate.
*gōřān, gōřē-*, = Muk., vi. change.
*gōřin, gōř-*, = Muk., vt. change.
*gastin (gaxtin), gax-*, = Muk., vt. bite.
*galān, galē-*, vi. 1 bloom, 2 glow.
*gušin, guš-*; Sor., Muk. *kuſin, kuš-*, vt. press, squeeze.
*gūtin, gutin*, see *woutin*.
*gwāstin (gwaxtin), gax-*; Muk. *gastin (gaxtin)*; Arb. *gōstin, gōx-*; *~awa*, vt. move *house, home*.
**gain (gaiītin, gayītin), ga-*, = Sor., Muk.; War. *ga(ya)-*, vi. arrive.
*gayānin, gayēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. cause to arrive.
*gaxin*, see *gartin*.
*gwaxtin*, see *gwāstin*.
*gawxin, gawx-*, vi. roll *in the dust*.

*habūn, haya*, = Muk.; Arb. *haya, hayt-*; War. *har*, vi. exist.
*hāltin*, see *hēltin*.
*hēnān, (h)ēn-*, = Muk.; Arb. *hīnān, (h)īn-*, vt. bring.
*hōnin, hōn-*; Muk. *hāndin*; Arb. *hunin, hun-*; *~awa*, vt. plait.
*hanārdin*, see *nārdin*.
*hārin, hār-*, = Arb.; Piž. *hērin, hēr-*, vt. grind.
**hēltin (hēlān), (h)ēl-*, = Muk.; Arb. *hēl-*; Rdz. *(h)ēr-*, vt. leave.
**hātin, ē-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. come.
**War. hāwurdin, ēr-*, vt. bring.

*(k)āwī(ī)tin, (k)āwē(ž)-, = Muk.; Arb. *hāwīštin* (*hāwē(ī)tin*), *hāwē-*; Bin. *kāw-*, vt. throw.
*hāžō(ī)tin*, see *āžwān*.

*ḫajimīn*, ? *ḫajim-*, vi. be still.
*ḫīlānin*, *ḫīlēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. neigh.
*ḫapasān*, ? *ḫapasē-*, = Muk., vi. be bewildered.
*ḫasān*, *ḫasē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. rest.
*ḫawān*, *ḫawē-*, = Muk., vi. stay, dwell.

*jūlān*, *jūlē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *jūrān*, vi. move.
*jimīn*, *jim-*, vi. move.
*jūn*, *jū-*, = Muk., vt. chew.
*jinīn*, see *anjinīn*.

*kaftin*, see *kawtin*.
*kōkīn*, = *kōxīn*.
*kēlān*, *kēl-*, = Muk., vt. plough.
*kōlīn* (*kōlān*), *kōl-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kōrīn*, vt. dig out.
*kulān* (*kulīn*), *kulē-*, = Muk.; Arb. *kurān*; Sur. *kōrīn*, *kōr-*, vi. boil.
*kanin* (*kaŋin*), *kan-*; Muk. *kandin*, vt. dig.
*kanīn*, *kan-*, = Muk., Arb.; *pē ~*, vi. laugh.
*kirmānin*, *kirmēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. crunch.
**kirdin*, *ka-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. do, make.
*kirō(ī)tin*, *kirōž-*, vt. crunch.
*kirtānin*, = *kirmānin*.
*kirūzān*, ? *kirūzē-*; *~awa*, vi. complain *of poverty*.
*kiřīn*, *kiř-*, = Muk., vt. buy.
*kiřānin*, *kiřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. scratch.
*kōřānin*, *kōřēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. neigh.
*kēšān*, *kēš-*, = Muk., vt. pull.
*kišān*, *kišē-*, = Muk., vi. crawl.
*kōšīn*, *kōš-*, = Muk.; *tē ~*, vt. strive.
*kušīn*, see *gušīn*.
*kuštin*, *kuž-*, = Muk., Arb.; Piž. *kūž-*, vt. kill.
*kawtin*, *kaw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ka(f)tin*, *kaw-*, vi. fall.
*kutān*, *kut-*, = Muk., vt. strike.
*kutin*, see *wutin*.
*kōxīn*, *kōx-*, = Muk., vi. cough.
*kizānin*, *kizēn-*, vt. scorch, singe.
*kužān*, *kužē-*, = Muk.; War. *kužyān*; *~awa*, vi. die down.

*likān*, *likē-*, = Muk., vi. adhere.
*lālān*, *lālē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. implore.

*laqîn, laq-*, = Muk., vi. move, shake.
*lûrânin, lûrên-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. howl.
*larân* (*larîn*), *larê-*; *~awa*, vi. shake, tremble.
*larzîn, larz-*, = Muk., vi. shiver, tremble.
*•listin, lês-*, = Muk.; Arb. *lêstin*; *~awa*, vt. lick.
*lwân, lwê-*, vi. be suitable.
*lâwânin, lâwên-*; Sor. *-ândin*; *~awa*, vt. 1 soothe, 2 lament.
*lawarân* (*lawarîn*), *lawarê-*, = Muk., vi. graze.

*mâlîn, mâl-*; Muk. *mâlîn* (*mâltin*); Arb. *mârîn, mâr-*, vt. sweep.
*•mân, mên-*, = Muk.; Arb. *mînê-*; Rdz. *mîn-*, vi. remain.
*mirdin, mir-*, = Muk., vi. die.
*mirânin, mirên-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. growl.
Muk. *mûsân, mûsê-*; *fê ~*, vi. kiss.
Muk. *mîstin, mîz-*, vi. urinate.
*mâltin*, see *mâlîn*.
*maîn*, ? *mayê-*, vi. coagulate.
*mazrân, mazrê-*, = Muk.; *dê ~*, vi. be established.
*mijîn, mij-*, = Muk., vt. suck.

*nik/qânin, nik/qên-*, vt. moan.
*nikânin, nikên-*, vt. moan.
*•nân, nê-*, = Muk., Arb.; War. *nîân, nê-*, vt. put.
*nûqân, nûqê-*, vi. close, clench.
*nârdin* (*hanârdin*), *nêr-*, = Muk., Arb., vt. send.
*nêrîn*, see *nwêrîn*.
*nasîn, nas-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. know, recognize.
*nûsân, nûsê-*, = Muk., vi. adhere.
*nûsîn, nûs-*, = Muk.; Piž., Sur. *nivîsîn, nivîs-*, vt. write.
*•nûstin, nû-*, = Sor., Muk.; Sur. *nivîstin, niv-*, vi. sleep.
*nâltin, nêž-*, = Muk., vt. bury.
*nîştin, nîş-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. sit, settle.
*nûltân, nûltê-*, = Muk., vi. fold, bend.
*nwênin, nwn-*; Sor. *-ândin*, vt. show, (also caus. of *nûstin*).
Muk. *nwêrîn, nwêr-*; Arb. *nêrîn, nêr-*, = *rwânîn*.
*nâzîn, nâz-*, vi. be proud.

*pâčîn, pâč-*, vt. chop, clip.
*pčân, pč-*, = Muk., vt. fold.
*pičirân, pičirê-*, = Muk., vi. break, snap.
*pičirîn, pičir-*, = Muk., vt. break, cut, sever.
*pêkân, pêk-*, vt. hit *a mark*.
*pilôtîn, pilôs-*; Arb. *parôsîn, parôs-*; *dê ~*, vt. maul.

*pālāwtin, pālēw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *pārāftin, pārēw-*, vt. filter, strain.
*paqīn, paq-*, vi. split, burst.
*parmūn, parmū-*, vi. trust.
*pirsīn, pirs-*, = Muk., vt. ask.
*paristīn, parist-*, = Muk., vt. worship.
*pārāstin, pārēz-*, = Muk., vt. protect.
*pirwānin, pirwēn-*, vt. crumble.
*paržān, parže-*, = Muk.; War. *paržyān*, vi. be idle, have leisure.
*pirždānin, pirždēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. sprinkle.
*parīn, par-*, = Muk., vi. leap.
*pārān, pārē-*, = Muk., vi. beg, beseech.
*pirūzān (pirūskān), pirūzē-*, vi. be singed, scorched.
*pisān, pisē-*, = Muk., vi. be torn, shredded.
*pasārdin*, see *sipārdin*.
*pastīn, past-*, = Muk., vt. tread, crush.
*palōkān, palōkē-*, = Muk., vi. be confused.
*pilkinīn, pilkin-*, = Muk., vt. examine, inspect.
*pilkūtīn, pilkū-*, = Muk.; Arb. *pilkiftin*, vi. bloom.
*pilmīn*, see *pilmin*.
*pilān, pilē-*, vi. be baked.
*pōšīn, pōš-*, = Muk., vt. cover.
Muk. *pilāwtin, pilēw-*; Arb. *pilāftin*; *hal ~*, vt. rub, squeeze.
*pēwān, pēw-*, = Muk.; Arb. *pīwān, pīw-*, vt. measure.
*pilmīn, pilm-*; Muk., Arb. *pilmin, pilm-*, vi. sneeze.
*pižān, pižē-*, vi. spurt.

*qablānin, qablēn-*, vt. evaluate, assess.
*qūčānin, qūčēn-*, vt. clench.
*qililān, qililē-*; Muk. *qalilīn, qalil-*; Arb. *qaraltin, qaral-*, vi. split, crack.
Muk. *qalāštin, qalēš-*, vt. split.
*qawmān (qawmīn), qawmē-*, = Muk., vi. happen.
*qupān, qupē-*, vi. be dented.
*qirčān, qirčē-*; *hal ~*, vi. 1 be scorched, 2 curl (*lip*).
*qirānin, qirēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. imprecate.
*qirānin, qirēn-*, vt. croak, caw.
*qižānin, qižēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. scream.

*řisānin, řisēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. snatch.
*řimān (řimīn), řimē-*, vi. collapse.
*řīn (řīān), řī-*, = Muk.; Arb. *řītin*, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
*řanjān, řanjē-*, = Muk., vi. be vexed.
*řinīn, řin-*, = Muk., vt. scratch.
**řistīn, řēs-*, = Muk.; Arb. *řēstin*, vt. spin.
*řilān, řilē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. vomit.

*rūšān, rūšē-*, = Muk., vi. be abraded.
*ṙaštin, ṙaš-*, = War., vt. apply kohl *to the eyes*.
*•ṙištin, ṙēš-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ṙēštin*, vt. pour.
*ṙītin*, see *ṙīn*.
*ṙūtān, ṙūtē-, ~awa*, vi. become bare.
*•ṙwān, ? ṙwa-*, = Muk., vi. grow, sprout.
*ṙawīn, ṙaw-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. shy, flee.
*ṙwānīn, ṙwān-*, = Muk. (see *nwāṙīn*), vt. look at.
*ṙūxān, ṙūxē-*, = Arb.; Muk. *ṙuxān, ṙuxē-*, vi. collapse.
*ṙōīn (ṙōīštin, ṙōyn, ṙōyštin), ṙō-*, = Muk., vi. go.
*ṙāzān, ṙāzē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. be adorned.
*ṙīzīn (ṙīzān), ṙīzē-*, = Muk., vi. decay.
*ṙīžān, ṙīžē-*, = Muk., vi. pour, spill.

*silamīn, ? silamē-, ~awa*, vi. shy, flinch.
*simīn, sim-*, = Muk., vt. bore, pierce.
*sān*, see *stān*.
*sūn, sū-*, = Muk.; War. *swīn*; Arb. *swāndin, swēn-*, vt. rub.
*•san(d)in (stānin), sēn-*; Muk. *astāndin, -stēn-*; Arb. *stāndin, stīn-*, vt. take, War. buy.
*sipārdin, sipēr-*; Muk. *aspārdin, -spēr-*; Arb. *pasārdin, pasēr-*, vt. commit, entrust.
*sirpānin*, = *čirpānin*.
*sirawtin (sirawīn), siraw-*; Muk. *sirawān, sirawē-*, vi. rest, relax.
*sirīn, sir-*; Arb. *stirīn, stir-*; Muk. *astirīn*, vt. wipe.
*sūrān, sūrē-*, = Muk.; Sur. *siwirīn, siwir-*, vi. revolve, circulate.
*•s(t)ān, s(t)-*, = Muk.; *hal ~ (hastān)*, vi. rise.
Muk. *sōtin, sōž-*; Rdz. *sōt-*, vi. burn.
*sūtān, sūtē-*, = Muk., Arb., vi. burn.
*stānin*, see *sandin*.
*sūtānin, sūtēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*; Rdz. *sōtāndin, sōtīn-*, vt. burn.
*sāzān, sāzē-*, = Muk., vi. be reconciled.

*škān, škē-*, = Muk.; War. *škiyān*, vi. break.
*šakān, šakē-*, = Muk., vi. shake, tremble.
*šalīn, šal-*, = Muk., vi. limp.
*šēlān, šēl-*, = Muk., vt. tread, knead.
*šilaqān, šilaqē-*; Arb. *šilōqān, šilōqē-*, vi. shake.
*šinīn, šin-*, vi. quiver, glitter.
*•šārdin, šār-*, = Arb.; Muk. *šēr-*; *~awa*, vt. bide.
*širīxānin*, = *čirīkānin*.
*•šitin, šō-*; Muk. *šuštin*; Arb. *šūštin*; War. *šōrdin, šōr-*, vt. wash.
*šēwān, šēwē-*, = Muk., vi. be disturbed.

*takān, takē-*, vi. shake.
*tikān, tikē-*, = Muk., vi. drip.
*tilān, tilē-*, vi. roll.
*tanīn, tan-*, = Muk., vt. plait.
*tānīn*, see *twānīn*.
*tapīn, tapē-*, vi. be compressed.
*tōpīn, tōp-*, vi. die, drop dead (*animal*).
*taqīn, taq-*, = Muk., vt. burst, pop.
*tōqīn* (*tōqān*), *tōqē-*, = Muk., vi. 1 burst, 2 be terrified.
*tirakīn, tirak-*, vi. crack, burst, whelp.
*tirūkānin, tirūkēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. blink.
*tōrān, tōrē-*; War. *tōryān*, vi. be annoyed.
*tirinjān, tirinjē-*, vi. be crammed, stuffed *into something*.
**tirsān, tirs-*; Muk., Arb. *tirsē-*, vi. be afraid.
*tiršān, tirše-*, vi. ferment.
*tirāzān, tirāze-*, vi. come apart.
*tīrin, tīr-*, vi. break wind.
*tāsān, tāsē-*, = Muk. vi. choke.
*tāšin, tāš-*, = Muk., vt. cut, shave.
*tūtān, tūtē-*; *hal* ~, vi. crouch.
*twān, ta-*, = Muk.; Arb. *tāwān, tāwē-*; *~awa*, vi. melt.
*twānīn, twān-*, = Muk.; Arb. *tānīn, tān-*, vt. be able.
*tazīn, taz-*, = Muk., vi. be numbed.

*wāqānin, wāqēn-*, vt. cry (*newborn baby*).
*warīn, war-*, = Muk. vi. drop off.
*wērān, wēr-*, = Muk., vt. dare.
*warīn, war-*, = Muk., vi. bark (*dog*).
*wāsīn, wās-*; Muk. *āwasīn, āwas-*; *hal* ~, vt. hang up.
**wastān, wast-*, = Muk.; War. *wēstān, wēs-*, vi. stand, stop.
**wīstin, (a)wē-*, = Muk., vt. impers. want.
*wašān, wašē-*, = Muk., vi. sway, fall.
**wutin, -lē-*; Muk. *g/kutin*; Arb. *gōtin, -rē-*; War. *wutin, lē-*, vt. say.

*xulān, xulē-*, = Muk.; *~awa*, vi. spin, revolve.
*xilīškān, xilīškē-*, = Muk., vi. slip.
*xilāfānin, xilāfēn-*, vt. deceive.
*xalatān, xalatē-*, = Muk., vi. be deceived.
*xonin* (*xōyin*), *xon-*; Piž., Muk. *xondin*; Arb. *xīndin, xīn-*; Rdz. *xwīn-*; Kōya, *xundin, xūn-*; Sur. *xōndin, xwīn-*, vt. study; *~awa*, read.
*xinkān, xinkē-*, = Muk., vi. choke.
*xurīn* (*xurān*), *xurē-*, = Muk., vi. itch.
*xurpān, xurpē-*, = Muk., vi. start, flutter.
*xirōlān, xirōlē-*, = Muk., vi. be in commotion.

*xūsān, xūsē-*, = Muk., vi. soak.
*xuřin, xuř-*, = Muk.; *lē* ~, vt. goad.
*xasānin, xasēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. castrate.
**xistin, xa-*, = Muk.; Arb. *ēxistin, ēx-*, vt. throw down.
*xišān, xišē-*, vi. slide, glide.
War. *xawtin, xaw-*, vi. sleep.
*xāwānin, xāwēn-*; Sor. *-āndin*, vt. deceive.
**xwārdin, xō-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. eat.
*xwāstin, xwāz-*, = Sor., Muk., vt. demand.
*xizān, xizē-*, = Muk., vi. slide.

**zān (zāīn), zē-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. give birth.
*zānīn, zān-*, = Muk., vt. know.
*ziriŋān, ziriŋē-*, vi. jingle.
*zařin, zař-*, = Muk., vi. bray (*donkey*).

*žāhān, žāhē-*, = Muk., vi. be creased, crumpled.
*žimārdin, žimēr-*, = Sor.; Muk. *ažmārdin, -žmēr-*, vt. count.
*žanīn, žan-*, = Muk.; Muk. also *žāndin, žēn-*, vt. beat, churn.
**žīān, žī-*, = Sor., Muk., vi. live.

## II. Dialects of Group II

Forms unmarked are Ak. The other main source is Zx. Many verbs, although attested in only one of these two dialects, are common, either in the form given or slightly modified, to all Bad. dialects.

*ālīstin, ālīs-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. lick.
*angiftin, angiv-*; *hal* ~, vi. trip, stumble (cf. *hingāftin*).
*īnān, īn-*; Zx. *īnādin* [sic], vt. bring.
*ūrān, ūr-*; *dā* ~, vt. swallow.
*ēšān, ēš-*, vi. hurt.
Zx. *āwīstin, āwīs-*; *hil* ~, vt. hang up.
*āxiftin, āxiv-*; Zx. *-tin*, vi. talk.
**ēxistin, ēx-*, vt. throw down, drop.

*'alamāndin, 'alamīn-*, vt. teach.
*'aziqīn, 'aziq-*, vi. be blocked.

*bēhnižīn*, see *pēhižīn*.
*bihīstin*, see *bīstin*.
*buhuštin (buhužīn), buhuž-*, vi. melt, dissolve.

* See § 280, end.

*bahitin, bahit-*, vi. blanch.
*bīn-*, see *dītin*.
*bón* (*bīn*), *b-*; Zx. *bīn*, vi. be.
•*birin, ba-*; Zx. *b-*, vt. take, carry.
*birīn, bir-*; Zx. *bórīn, bór-*; *r̄ā* ~, vi. pass, go past.
*birāštin, birēž-*, = *bižārtin* 2.
*bārtin* (*bārdin*), *bēr-*; *r̄ā* ~, vt. pass *time*.
*biryān, biryē-*; Zx. *birhān, birhē-*, vi. cease.
*bār̄īn, bār̄-*, vi. bleat.
*bir̄īn, bir̄-*, vt. cut.
*bór̄īn, bór̄-*, vi. low, moo.
*bastin, bast-*, vt. freeze.
*bīstin*, ? *bīs-*; Zx. *bihīstin, bihīs-*, vt. hear.
*biškiftin, biškiv-*; Zx. *-tin*, vi. blossom.
Am. *bāwišīn, bāwiš-*, vi. yawn.
*bizdyān, bizd-*, vi. 1 snap, 2 be afraid.
*biziftin, biziv-*, vi. move, budge.
*bizāftin, bizēv-*, vt. move.
*bēž-*, see *gótin*.
*bižārtin, bižēr-*, vt. 1 choose, 2 roast (cf. *birāštin*)

*čamyān, čamē-*, vi. bend.
*čón, č-*; Sur. *čōn*; Shn. *čōn*, vi. go.
*činīn, čin-*, vt. 1 knit, 2 pluck.
*čērāndin, čērīn-*, vt. graze.
*čēryān, čēryē-*, vi. graze.
*čīrāndin, čīrīn-*, vt. tear.
*čīryān, čīryē-*, vi. tear.

•*dān, da-*; Zx. *d-*, vt. give.
*dirūn, dirū-*, vt. 1 sew [*sic*], 2 reap.
Zx. *dērāndin, dērīn-*, vt. 1 sweat, 2 winnow.
*daristin, dariz-*, vi. split.
*dir̄āndin, dir̄īn-*, vt. tear.
*dór̄āndin, dór̄īn-*, vt. lose *game*.
*dir̄yān, dir̄yē-*, vi. tear.
*dōšīn, dōš-*, vt. milk.
•*dītin, bīn-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. see.
Zx. *dawisāndin, dawisīn-*, vt. press.
*dizīn, diz-*, vt. steal.

*fikirīn, fikir-*, vt. think.
•*firótin, firóš-*, vt. sell.

*gahândin, gahîn-*, vt. cause to attain.
*guhârtin*, see *gorân*.
*guhastin, guhuz-*, vi. move *house*.
Zx. *guhâstin, guhêz-*, vt. take home *bride*.
•*gihaltin* (*gaštin, gahîn*), *giha-* (*ga-*); Zx. *gahiltin, gah-*, vi. reach, ripen.
*gikičândin, gikičîn-*, vt. crumple.
*gêrân, gêr-*, vt. roll flat.
*girîn, girî-*, vi. weep.
*gôrân* (*gôrîn*), *gôr-*; Zx. *guhârtin, guhâr-*, vt. change.
*gurôn, gurô-*; Zx. *gurân* [sic], *gurô-*, vt. flay.
*gêrândin, gêrîn-*, vt. take about.
*girtin, gir-*, vt. take, hold, contain.
*giryân, giryê-*, vi. be blocked.
*gaŷyân, gaŷyê-*; Zx. *gaŵhân, gaŵhê-*, vi. go about, wander.
*gastin, gaz-*, vt. bite.
*gaštin*, see *gihaštin*.
•*gôtin, bêž-*; Am. *gôtin, bê(ž)-*, vt. say.
*givîžîn, givîž-*; Zx. *givâštin, givêž-*, vt. squeeze, press.

*habôn, haya*; Zx. *habîn*, vi. exist.
*hêlân, hêl-*, vt. leave, allow.
*hingâftin, hingêv-*, vt. strike (cf. *angiftin*).
*hunîn, hun-*, vt. smoothe.
*hinârtin, hinêr-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. send.
*hariftin, harîf-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. be ruined, collapse.
*harîšîn, harîš-*, vi. be crushed.
*hurûn, hurû-*; Zx. *harûn, harû-*, vt. rub.
*hisyân, hisyê-*; *ca ~*, vi. be at ease, relax.
•*hâtin*, (*h*)*ê-*; Am. *-tin*, vi. come.
*hâvêtin*, (*h*)*âvê*(*ž*)*-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. throw.
*hišmârtin, hišmêr-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. count.
*hišândin, hišîn-*, vt. brandish.
*hâžôtin*, (*h*)*âžô-*, vt. drive.

*ḫabândin, ḫabîn-*, vt. love.
*ḫajimtin, ḫajim-*, vi. be still.
*ḫîlîn, ḫîl-*, vi. neigh.
*ḫalyân, ḫal-*; Zx. *ḫalhân, ḫalhê-*, vi. melt, dissolve.
*ḫarimîn, ḫarim-*, vi. be defiled.
*ḫasyân, ḫasyê-*, vi. be aware.
*ḫalândin, ḫalîn-*, vt. stuff.
*ḫawyân, ḫawyê-*, vi. dwell, lodge.

*fûn, fû-*, vt. chew.
*faribândin, faribîn-*, vt. try, attempt.

*kaftin, kav-*; Am. *kaftin*, Zx. *katin, kav-*, vi. fall.
*kâlîn, kâl-*, vi. bleat.
*kôlân* (*kôlîn*), *kôl-*, vt. carve.
*kaliftin, kalîf-*, vi. split.
*kalâftin, kalêf-*, vt. split.
*kalyân* (*kalîn*), *kal-*, vi. boil, be agitated.
*kanin, kan-*, vi. laugh.
*kârin*, see *qârin*.
*kirin, ka-*; Zx. *k-*, vt. do, make.
*kurôftin, kurôf-*, vt. crunch.
*kiryân, kirê-*, vi. be done.
*kirîn, kir-*; Am., Zx. *kirîn, kir-*, vt. buy.
*kêlân, kêl-*, vt. attract.
*kuftin, kuf-*; Zx. *kuftîn*, vt. kill.
*kuxîn, kux-*, vi. cough.
*kuxiryân, kuxirê-*, vi. be singed.

*larizîn, lariz-*, vi. tremble.
*lavaryân, lavaryê-*, vi. graze.

*mahîn, mah-*, vi. coagulate.
*mâlîn* (*mâltîn*), *mâl-*, vt. sweep.
*•mân, mîn-*, vi. remain.
*mirin, mir-*, vi. die.
*miryân, mir-*; *va ~*, vi. die down, out (*fire*).
*mîstîn, mîz-*, vi. urinate.
*mâltîn*, see *mâlîn*.
*mê(ê)tîn, mêf-*, vt. suck.

*nâlîn, nâl-*, vi. groan, lament.
*nân, nê-*; Am., Zx. *n-*, vt. put.
*naqiŝândin, naqiŝîn-*, vt. decorate.
*nêrân, nêr-*, vi. look.
*nâsîn, nâs-*; Am. *nyâsîn, nyâs-*, vt. know, recognize.
*nûsyân, nûsyê-*, vi. adhere, stick.
*nîlkinîn, nîlkin-*, vi. break in.
*•niştin, nê-*; Am. *n-*; *fû ~*, vi. sit down.
*nûltin, ? nûl-*; *fû ~*, vt. fold.
*nûlyân, nûlyê-*, vi. alight (*bird*).
*nivîsîn, nivîs-*, = Zx.; Gul. *nivêsîn, nivêt-*, vt. write.
*•nivistin, niv-*, vi. sleep.
*nixâftin, nixêv-*, vt. dress, wrap up warmly.

*pēkižīn, pēkiž-*; Zx. *bēhnižīn, bēhniž-*, vi. sneeze.
Am. *palaxīn, palax-*, vi. be shattered.
*pandifyān, pandifyē-*, vi. swell.
*pangyān, pangyē-*, vi. be stopped up, held back.
*paqīn, paq-*, vi. 1 split, 2 die (*animal*).
*paqižīn, paqiž-*; *hal* ~, vi. fly off (*sparks, wood chips*, &c.).
*pirčiqīn, pirčiq-*, vi. be squashed.
*pirčyān, pirčyē-*, vi. snap.
*pirsīn, pirs-*, vt. ask.
*pārāstin, pārēz-*, vt. preserve.
*parxāndin, parxīn-*, vt. massage.
*pařīn, pař-*; *tē* ~, vi. pass over, cross *a river*.
*pāřyān, pāřyē-*; *va* ~, vi. beg, beseech.
*pisārtin, pisēr-*; *hal* ~, vt. lean (*something*) against.
*pōšīn, pōš-*; *dā* ~, vt. cover.
*paštīn, pašt-*, vt. twist.
*pātin, pēž-*; Am., Zx. *paḫtin*, vt. cook, bake.
*pīvān, pīv-*, vt. measure.

Zx. *qadān, qad-*, vi. pass, suffice.
*qahirīn, qahir-*, vi. be angry.
*qalyān, qal-*, vi. fry.
*qawmīn, qawm-*, vi. happen, occur.
Am. *qaramtin*, ? *qaram-*, vi. freeze, be numb.
Shn. *qārin, qār-*; (Rwn. *kārin, kār-*), vt. be able.
*qīrāndin, qīrīn-*, vt. shout.
*qarisīn, qaris-*, vi. be clenched (*teeth*).
*qusāndin, qusīn-*, vt. cut.
*qawšīn, qawš-*, vi. crowd around.
*qutān, qut-*; Zx. *qutān, qut-*, hit, knock.
*qatyān, qatyē-*; Zx. *qaťhān, qaťhē-*, vi. finish.
*qīžāndin, qīžīn-*, vt. shout, yell.

Zx. *řabisāndin, řabisīn-*, vt. water (*land*).
**řistin, řēs-*; Am. *-tin*, vt. spin.
*řalāndin, řalīn-*, vt. sprinkle.
*řē(š)tin, řēž-*; Zx. *-tin*, vt. pour.
*řiltin*, see *řižyān*.
*řalyān, řalyē-*; *va* ~, vi. vomit.
*řītin, řī-*, vi(t), stool, (defecate).
*řatqisīn, řatqis-* [sic], vi. dance.
*řavīn, řav-*, vi. flee, elope.
*řivān, řivē-*, vt. abduct.
*řawīn, řaw-*, vi. bark.

*ʒizīn, ʒiz-*, = Zx., vi. rot, decompose.
*ʒižyān, ʒižyē-*; Zx. *ʒižhān, ʒižhē-*; Gul. *ʒiłtin, ʒiłhē-*, vi. pour, spill.

*ʒafyān, ʒafyē-*, vi. be filtered, strained.
*ʒimirīn, ʒimir-*, vi. be numb, freeze.
*ʒimtin, ʒim-*; Am. *-ʒin*, vt. bore.
*ʒtāndin, ʒtīn-*; Zx. *ʒʒāndin, ʒʒīn-*, vt. take.
*ʒtiwīn, ʒtiw-*, vt. wipe.
*ʒiwirīn*, see *ʒivirīn*.

*ʒawlāndin, ʒawlīn-*, vt. wash *rice*.
*•ʒōtin, ʒōẓ-*, vi/t. burn.
*ʒʒāndin*, see *ʒtāndin*.

*ʒkāndin, ʒkīn-*; Am. *ʒkēn-*, vt. break.
*•ʒkastin, ʒkē-*; Am. *-ʒin*, vi. break.
*ʒēlān, ʒēl-*, vt. knead.
*ʒārtin, ʒēr-*; *va ~*, hide, bury.
*•ʒuštin, ʒō-*; Gul. *ʒūʒtin*, vt. wash.
*ʒawitīn, ʒawit-*, vi. be spoilt.
*ʒyān, ʒē-*, vt. be able.

Zx. *taʒistīn, taʒis-*, vi. slip.
*taʒistāndin, taʒistīn-*, vt. destroy.
*tapisāndin, tapisīn-*, vt. dent, ram.
*tirikīn, tirik-*; Am., Zx. *tirikin, tirik-*, vi. whelp.
*tirsyān, tirs-*, = Am., vi. fear, be afraid.
*tirāʒīn, tirāʒ-*, vt. carve.

Zx. *ʒamirāndin, ʒamirīn-*, vt. put out (*fire, light*).
*ʒaystīn, ʒays-*, vi. shine.
*ʒazīn, ʒaz-*, = Am., Zx., vi. freeze, be numb.

*•vyān, vē-*, vt. want, wish.

*warimtīn, warim-*, vi. swell.
*wērān, wēr-*, vt. dare.
*warāndin, warīn-*, vt. envelop.
*waryān, waryē-*; *hal ~*, disintegrate.
*•wastān, wast-*; *fā ~*, vi. stop, stand.
*waʒāndin, waʒīn-*; *dā ~*, vt. shake.
*waʒyān, waʒyē-*; *hal ~*, vi. collapse.

*xičyān, xičyē-*, vi. be caught, deceived.
*xalyān, xalyē-*, vi. be dislocated (*wrist*, &c.).
*xamilāndin, xamilīn-*, vt. adorn.

**xundin, xûn-*; Zx. *xāndin*; Gul., Shn. *xwandin*; vt. study, read.
*xandiqāndin, xandiqīn-*; Shn. *xaniqāndin, xaniqīn-*, vt. strangle.
**xārin, xó-*; Zx. *xu-*; Gul. *xwārin, xu-*; Shn. *xwārin, xó-*, vt. eat.
*xurāndin, xurīn-*, vt. scratch.
*xuryān, xuryē-*, vi. itch.
*xuřīn, xuř-*; *tē* ~, vi. challenge.
*xasāndin, xasīn-*, vt. castrate.
*xāstin, xāz-*; Zx. *-tin*; Gul. *xwāstin, xwāz-*, vt. demand.
*xišāndin, xišīn-*, vt. drag.
*xwandin*, see *xundin*.
*xwārin*, see *xārin*.
*xwāstin*, see *xāstin*.

*zān, zē-*, = Zx., vi. give birth (*animal*).
*zānīn, zān-*, vt. know.
*zīryān, zīryē-*, vi. tear, split.
*ziřīn, ziř-*, vi. bray (*donkey*).
*ziwiřīn, ziwiř-*; Sur. *siwiřīn, siwiř-*, vi. move, revolve.

*žīn, žī-*, vi. live.

*'-*, see before *b-*.

# CONSPECTUS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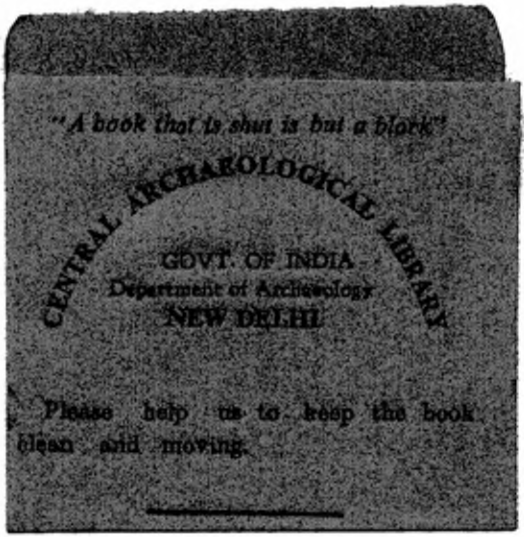
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